

REASON and JUDGEMENT.

2

OR,
SPECIAL REMARQUES
Of the
L I F E

Robert
Of the *Renowned*
Dr. *S* A N D E R S O N,

Late Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*.

Together with his

J U D G E M E N T
FOR
S E T T I N G the C H U R C H;

In exact
R E S O L U T I O N S
Of sundry grand C A S E S very seasonable at T H I S T I M E.



L O N D O N :

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Feb. 24. 1662.

Geo. Stradling, S. T. P. Rev.
Christo Pat. D. Gilb. Ep.
Lond. à Sac. Dom.





Rev. in
. Episc.
Domest.



TESTIMONIES

CONCERNING

The Renowned Dr. SANDERSON.

Dr. Prideaux.

None States a Question more *punctually*, Resolves it more *satisfactorily*, Answers all Objections more *fully*, then that *clear and solid* man Mr. Sanderson.

Bishop Usher.

And I Proposed the Case to the *judicious* Dr. Sanderson, who *Grasped* all the Circumstances of it, and Returned that happy Answer that *met* with all my Thoughts, *satisfied* all my Scruples, and *cleared up* all my Doubts.

Dr. Hammond.

That *staid and well-weighed* man Dr. Sanderson, *conceives* all Things *deliberately*, *dwells* upon them *discreetly*, *discerns* Things that differ *exactly*, *passeth* his Judgement *rationally*, and *expresses* it *aply, clearly and honestly*.

Mr. Baxter.

—— I do not intend by this Character such Episcopal Divines as the Reverend Dr. Sanderson, whom I honour for his *Learning, Judgement, Moderation and Piety*.

Dr. Fuller.

Amongst the Modern Worthies of this Colledge still surviving, Dr. Robert Sanderson, late Regius Professor, moveth in the highest Sphere, a no less *plain and profitable* then *able and profound* Casuist, (a Learning almost lost amongst Protestants.)

Bishop Reynolds.

—— There is no mention of it in that Table of the several Opinions drawn up by a *Learned* man of our Church, Dr. Sanderson.

Bishop Hall.

Alas, why do I wade further into the deep and large search of Cases of Conscience, wherein I hear so far a progress is made by the excellent Dr. Sanderson, the most *exact* and *faithful* Casuist living?

REASON and JUDGEMENT:
OR,
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Of the
L I F E
Of the Renowned
Dr. SANDERSON,

Late Lord Bishop of Lincoln.

Together with his
J U D G E M E N T
FOR
S E T T I N G the C H U R C H;

In exact
R E S O L U T I O N S
Of sundry grand CASES very seasonable at THIS TIME.

*It is a very imperfect account of y^e Bp's life, & y^e stile is a
very affected piece. But in 1678. Isaac Walton undertook
to do y^e Bp Justice, by writing a very exact account of his
life. I suppose he undervalued y^e piece so far, as to reckon
it nothing: for in his Preface he takes no notice at all of it,
but wonders why no Body had writt upon y^e subject in 15. years
He had certainly seen y^e piece, for he reprinted y^e Bp's Judg-
ment in one View et. & added some more of his small Tracts.*



2



Bishop Sanderson's second Sermon, (*ad Populum*)
Page 211. E.

THere is a *Warning* for us, to take consideration of the loss of good or useful men; and to fear, when they are going from us, that some evil is coming to us. The Prophet complaineth of the too great and general neglect hereof in his time: *The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken from the evil to come, Esay 57. 1.* When God sendeth his *Angel* to pluck out his righteous *Lots*, what may *Sodom* expect but fire and brimstone to be rained down upon them? When he plucketh up the fairest and choicest *flowers* in his Garden, & cropeth off the tops of the goodliest *Poppies*, who can think other then that he meaneth

eth to lay his *Garden* waste, and to turn it into a *wilde Wildernes*? When he undermineth the main *Pillars* of the house, taketh away the very *props* and *buttresses* of Church and Commonwealth; sweepeth away religious *Princes*, wise *Senators*, zealous *Magistrates*, painful *Ministers*, men of eminent *ranks*, *gifts* or *example*; who shall be secure that either *Church* or *Commonweal* shall stand up long, and not totter at least, if not fall? God in *mercy* taketh such away from the *evil* to come; we in *wisdom* should look for *evil* to come, when God taketh such away.



REASON and JUDGEMENT:
 OR,
 SPECIAL REMARQUES
 Of the
 LIFE
 Of the *Renowned*
 Dr. SANDERSON,
 Late Lord Bishop of *Lincoln* :

In a Letter to the Reverend
 J. W. D. D. P. L.

S I R,

I Am equally sorry that I cannot satisfy your just desire in the Remarques of our *Renowned Diocesan's Life*, as that I must comply with your sad fear in the too true report of his *Death*; that I must assure you we have lost the man, and what was mortal in him, and yet cannot help you to his virtues, and what was immortal in him: that when I must write you the news that he is dead to the world, I cannot draw a character wherein he may live with the good and virtuous for ever. "The
 " wise,

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“wise, the holy and the good, live more nobly in
 “their vertues and graces in the hearts of others,
 “then they did in their own bodies.

His modesty wrapped him in that privacy, and his place kept him at that distance, that I cannot take his portraiture, nor recount his memorials so exactly as I could wish, and you may expect: yet though for no other cause then for this, “That
 “Posterity may know we have not loosely through
 “silence permitted things and persons to pass away
 “as in a dream; there shall be thus much extant concerning this excellent person, for his own honour, and the honour of the Church he was bred in, That he was a Bishop, and a man of most sound Judgement, of most deep Learning, of a vast Apprehension, of an holy and unspotted Life, of an unsuspected Integrity; a great Friend, a faithful Servant, a valiant Champion of the Church. More particularly there shall be extant, 1. His Education: 2. His temper of body and minde: 3. The great instances of his Life: 4. His Person and Aspect: 5. His Works or Writings: 6. His Sufferings: 7. His Rewards and Preferments: And lastly and chiefly, his Judgement and Resolution of those Cases of Conscience that concern the Discipline or Worship of our Church:—wherein you will observe something *admirable*, many things *imitable*, all things *commendable*.

Sect. 1.

His Education.

VWhen his Parents observed that he was capable of advancing the VVorshipfulness of his Birth by the excellency of his Parts, his pregnant Wit, his large and capacious Understanding, Bp Sanderson was 4th son of Rob^t Sanderson Esq^r his of Giltwait-Hall in 4th Parish of Rotherham in Yorkshire. He was born at Rotherham Sept: 19. 1587.

his fixed Judgement, his faithful Memory, and his hopeful Seriousness, they took care that his youth and first years of reason should not be lost, but (being hardly recovered if neglected) be carefully improved in all good Learning: of which he was not onely capable, but comprehensive, in a severe and exact Grammar-School; where, by an unwearied diligence, a silent, sedentary, and astonished way of following his Book, a seriousness beyond his years, (Oh how would he steal away from his Companions follies, to his severer tasks and privacies!) he made his way thorow all things on which he could fix, to an exactness in Greek and Latine, which he retained to his dying day. And he would observe, "That an exactness in School-learning was a great advantage to our higher studies; as the miscarriages of School are not easily recovered in the University:— the errors of the first Concoction being hardly rectified in the second.

At School he observed, he learned an art of memory. When he was enjoyned to learn what he understood not, (which was then an ordinary miscarriage in Grammar-Schools) he was compelled to make use of similitudes, &c. and to remember those things he knew not, to think upon something like them he knew. As he had many excellent Observations touching Schools, which he would say were the most considerable places in a Kingdome: so he would usually say, "That the *Practical Way* is the best; when as *Aristotle* speaks, *We learn that by doing, which we learn to do.*

B

And

admitted^r
July 1. 1603.

And now I would willingly enlarge on his minority, and his first appearance in solid and pious Learning, with which he always abounded; but that it is like the beginning of *Nilus*, hardly to be found; and we know no minority of his, being one that did *diversum*, excel his equals and himself; in a staid worth above his years and time, always eminent, always excellent. And therefore I follow him furnished with excellent Rules of Grammar and Rhetorick, with choice pieces of History, Poetry and Oratory, with an elegancie in Latine, a good judgement in Greek; serious in his designe, prudent in his study, industrious in his way, clear in his apprehension, searching in his understanding; serene, orderly and methodical in his thoughts; sober and civil in his carriage: (the School having added to his great Parts that humility, meekness, modesty, obedience and civility, as, advantaged by his good disposition, rendred him to his dying day submissive to Superiours, obliging to his Equals, tender to his Inferiours, amiable and charitable to all.) I follow him (with as much duty, observance and affection, though not with so much ability as other men) to the University of Oxford; where, in *Lincoln-Colledge*, with a slow, but sure pace, he proceeded in all rational and solid Learning: his unwearied minde struggling with the intricacies, perplexities, darkness and confusion of Nature, and aiming at that clear and genuine apprehension of things we were created in, *after the image of God, in knowledge*: not so intent upon the notions, as the nature of things. As
he

he had attained to so much Grammar as enabled him to speak his minde properly, and so much Rhetorick as to express it perswatively: so he endeavoured to gain so much Logick as might order, guide and direct his thoughts *methodically*; in apprehending things *distinctly*; in judging of them *exactly*; in finding out the truth that lies in them *successfully*; in discovering the errors, deceits and fallacies imposed upon us in them *evidently*; and urging the truths found out *convincingly*. His way was, 1. to write the Rules his Tutor suggested, or his Books afforded: (for he writ most he read or heard, as he said, *to stay his active and young soul upon things, until he had distinctly conceived them.*) 2. To debate those Rules with himself and others, which he had so written. 3. To practise them upon some Question or other, till they became as his native Reason, as his own soul. Whereby he afterwards attained in all cases a great happiness to comprehend things fully, to state Controversies exactly, to lay them before others both clearly and compendiously; to finde out the merit of a Cause, the right joyn of a Question exactly; to confirm a Truth pertinently, properly and acutely: insomuch that as he composed a new Logick, an excellent way of Reasoning; so he was himself for many years the *publike Reason* of the Church: looking into Debates deeply, opening them solidly and conspicuously, determining them impartially, conscientiously and clearly; pressing Truth and Duty convincingly: his Reasons were strong and demonstrative, his Allegations close and pertinent, his Observations

choice and prudent ; his Deductions clear , his Censure impartial , his Expressions apt, suitable, weighty and accurate ; his Discourse steady, judicious, undistracted , made up of abstract notions of Reason, Experience and Religion ; his Thoughts calm, smoothe, and methodical. He was a great engrosser of private Systemes and Papers ; and he would say , *The united Reason of many industrious and serious searchers after the Truth, make one compleat man.* He would gather the acutest Arguments he found among Philosophers , to *quicken*, though not to *instruct* himself : these smart trifles (he would say) would help us to that acuteness and distinctness of apprehension that might be useful in greater matters : and it was equally useful and pleasant to observe the various workings of several Reasons with mens several defects and excellencies ; by the correcting the one whercof, and imitating the other, a man might raise a frame of soul most knowing, most clear, and almost innocent. He advised yong men to “ advance towards a clear understanding
 “ of any thing by these steps : 1. To understand
 “ the word by which it is expressed , in all its acce-
 “ ptations. 2. To understand all the words in the
 “ learned Languages , by which that thing is ex-
 “ pressed ; with the Original of those words , and
 “ the reason why they were made use of to express
 “ that thing ; with all the words that are neer to
 “ it, and their signification. 3. Then to appre-
 “ hend the nature of the thing , with what it hath
 “ common with other things, and what it hath spe-
 “ cial in it self ; what relation it hath to other
 things

“ things in the world ; whence it proceeded ; for
 “ what end it was made : with other things that
 “ are like it. Thus to know a few things exactly, is
 “ to be very learned. As to any Question that
 “ was to be debated, the words (he said) must be
 “ clearly understood, and the notion of the things
 “ in debate stated ; and then, what is granted on
 “ all sides concerning the things rightly understood
 “ must be shewed ; *and what is controverted (as there
 will be very little, when words and things are well under-
 stood) must be clearly laid down as it is understood on all
 hands, and convincingly proved by a proper reason from
 the nature of the thing, or from authority, pressed and
 cleared from all evasions, cavils and subterfuges ; which
 cavils must be proposed faithfully and honestly, and an-
 swered briefly and fully, ingeniously, candidly and mo-
 destly.*

His advice about reading of Authors was this :
 1. To observe the nature of the thing handled, and
 to know what to look for from him, what part of
 Learning he may satisfy you in. 2. To observe the
 Author, and the occasion, time and way of writ-
 ting. 3. To observe what is said of the thing
 handled in direct Propositions. 4. To note what
 is said indirectly of it out of other Learning, as
 Rhetorick, Philology, History, &c. 5. To take
 notice what new Explications the Author useth
 beyond what we have in the old Learning : his se-
 veral Conclusions and Arguments, with the To-
 picks from whence they are taken ; with his an-
 swer to Arguments and Objections. He would
 say, “ It was no less then a miracle of knowledge
 that

“that men might attain to, if they proceeded thus
 “distinctly in reading Authors, and in pursuing
 “after knowledge. He advised young men to use
 Common-place-books; in the beginning whereof,
 there might be a common table, containing the ge-
 neral heads of the book: under which generally,
 the special heads may be written, with references
 to the pages where those heads are handled, with a
 little blank space after each sort of heads, wherein
 more heads if we meet with them may be inserted:
 for every head let there be reserved a page, where
 what notable sentence, notion, rule or particular
 soever is suggested to us in reading, meditating,
 discoursing, may be written and reserved for future
 use. His minde thus guided by sure and constant
 Rules of Reason, made the more methodical, and
 so more happier progress in learning Languages
 and Intellectual Sciences, Philosophy, History,
 Poetry, Philology, and the whole circle of Learn-
 ing; which he thoroughly studied, and methodi-
 cally digested, making each part illustrate and help
 another, until he became a great Master of the
 whole,—and his Parts voted him Fellow of the
 House, (an excellent advantage for young men to
 improve their first years of prudence and discreti-
 on) and made him an eminent Tutor in the Univer-
 sity, where he at once learned and taught, advan-
 cing his own Parts and Reason, while he improved
 his Pupils: *I learn*, said he, *much from my Master,*
more from my Equals, and most of all from my Disciples.
 And indeed he allowed himself no other diversion
 then what the giving encouragement and instructi-
 on

on to ingenious young Students yeilded him: (a thing he peculiarly delighted in, as wherein he could observe the several weakneses of Reason, and their respective remedies.)

Here he was as retired as he could; being able, but not forward to appear, and very willing to improve himself. His modest thoughts and distrust of himself made him a while satisfy himself with the conscience of well-doing, having the highest pleasure of enjoying Worth without noise, and Vertue without applause; being a great *Stream* of Learning, without noise, *deep and clear*.

While he was in the University, he generally *Sect 2.* spent eleven hours a day in study: which industry *His In-* of his, dispatched the whole course of Philosophy, *dustry.* and picked out in a manner all that was useful in all Classick Authors that are extant; drawing Indexes for his private use, either in his own Paper-book, or at the beginning and end of each book: which will testify his indefatigable pains to as many as shall peruse his excellent and well-chosen Study. This assiduity continued to his dying day, as if he had resolved to depart studying, and go immediately from his pursuit of *revealed truth*, to the view of the *eternal*. He disposed himself and time to perpetual industry and diligence; not only avoiding, but perfectly hating idleness, and hardly recommending any thing more than this; *Be always furnished with somewhat to do, as the best way to innocence and pleasure.* There was not a minute of the day he left vacant from business of necessity, civility or study: you should hardly see him without his

his book, or hardly meet him without his plodding thoughts and meditations. A clear and calm way he had of weighing duely what he should do, in designing what he had considered, and soberly performing what he had designed. His minde was wholly inward, where lay his Scenes of discreet, prudent and pious undertakings. In sicknesses, if they were not so violent as to make the recollection of his thoughts impossible, he never intermitted study, but rather re-inforced, as the best ease of his distemper, and diversion of his pain. His way was to cast into paper his Observations, and direct them to his great designe. I may say of him, as the reverend Dr. Fell saith of his good friend the excellent Dr. Hammond, That considering his time of prayer and instructing his family, his perusal of the writings of friends and strangers when intended to be publick, his review of his own works, his reception of visits, whether for civility or for resolution of conscience, or information in point of difficulty, which were numerous, and great devourers of his time, (he being reckoned the ablest and faithfullest Casuist in the world) his general Correspondencies by Letters, which took up the proportion of a day in each Week, and more: I say, he that shall consider these instances of diligence, besides his own vast reading, must be to seek what point of time remained undisposed of, and *learn to redeem the time.*

Sect. 3.

His Temper.

It pleased God he had a body suited to that pains he was designed for; a faithful Assistant rather than an impediment to his great Soul; symbolizing with

with it in an exact temper, neither failing it through the weakness of organs, nor burthening it with the redundancy of humours, nor clogging it with sad melancholy, nor disturbing it with an active unsetledness, nor rustling it with angry choler; neither too large for it, nor too narrow, but every way proportionable. Although he indeed was pleased to write thus of himself in his Preface to his Book of the Obligation of *Conscience*:

Nimirum, ut ignavus miles quem sola fortem facit desperatio, tum demum acris fertur ad pugnam, cum nullus reliquus est effugio locus: ita mihi ingenium est. Des otium, spatium, tempus! nil sit. Vexantur frustra calami, diffluit mens, vagatur, excurrit, torpet. In arctum cogas! Subsistit, excitatur, recolligit vires; quasque habet, quandoquidem exerto est opus, exerit universas: & ut verbo dicam, quod agi necesse est, hoc agit. Ut solis radii, qui laxo liberoque cælo diffusi sic modice calefaciunt vix ut sentias, iidem in concavi speculi umbonem, velut in centrum coacti adductique, acriter urunt. Multo usu à prima lanugine ad hanc canitiem edoctus didici, quam non sit vanum illud Pythagoræ hemistichium,

— Δύναμις γὰρ ἀνέλεη ἐγγυθε γάρον.

C

Quod

*Quod ignavae mentis vitium, etsi nonnullis
fortasse videri possit habere modestiae speciem
aliquam, mihi tamen una hac idonea excusa-
tione defendi posse videtur, quod sit certis qui-
busdam hominibus, (& ego in hoc censu)
ita congenitum insitumque
ab ipsis cunabulis, ut frustra sit, quisquis ex
illo numero id ulla speret à se posse, vel arte
corrigi, vel industria superari :*

Yet I am assured that he never considered longer
then till he could discern whether things proposed
were fit, or no: when that was determined, he
would without any slow delay (in spending that
time to gaze upon a business which might serve to
do it) go about another: when he had perfected
one business, he could not endure his soul should
stand still, but he instantly considered what was
next to be undertaken; constant course of business
running along with a constant course of time.

Sect 4.

His Car-
riage.

His Carriage grave, comely, and modest; his
Garb plain and studious, such as became a great
Scholar and a solemn Divine, alwaies medita-
ring some great and good design, retiring within
himself, and taken up with his own great thoughts:
equal in all his actions; doing nothing rash, vio-
lent, or precipitant in his words, gesture, or under-
standing; even and composed, entire, modestly
endeavouring what he thought his duty: diligent-
ly pursuing what was within his reach, and re-
solvedly

solvedly fixt upon what he judged within his capacity, the *ἀνὴρ ἁρπαγῆς*, "the square and *solid man*, "*seldome failing, and therefore seldome repenting*: his speech was as calm and even as his soul, so sober, so steady, so apt, so ordered, so weighty when serious, so pleasant when devoted to an harmless mirth, which became him no less then smiling and a little laughter doth a good man and a good conscience; for his innocent facetiousness was well tempered with gravity, mixed with good counsel, allayed with good discourse, and beautified with excellent example: if he would speak facetiously, no man did it or could do it more pleasingly: if he listed to dispute solidly, none did it more satisfactorily: he was choice in his friends, and faithful to them; friendship when true and sincere, he would say, was the greatest happiness and relief among the cares and troubles of the world, especially with those who were of the same inclination, profession, study and designment with himself; an union of mind is next the union of soul and body in the world; and friendship is next unto life: and it was this reverend persons business, where ever he was, to promote those two great things, friendship and love, that (as he used to say) men might have those that charitably observed, and faithfully admonished them of the failings, indecencies, and miscarriages Nature is obnoxious to; which he exactly performed, and expected back again to be returned to himself: he was constant in his kindness, as long as friends were true; but as he could

easily discern and look through, so he deeply resented all artifice and cunning: a plain man he was, and a plain temper he loved; if any mischance happened that might occasion misapprehensions, he suffered them not to improve by concealment: but presently offered the reasons of the misunderstanding, and enjoined all friends to return him the like measure back again, if his own actions seemed at any time doubtful or unseemly.

Sect. 5. *Ἀνίχθς κί ἀνίχθς* make up *Epicletus* his Philosophy, His Moderation. *ἡ σὺν ἡσυχίᾳ* made our Reverend Dioclesians Religion: none understood better how all things are lawful, none understood better then he how all things are not expedient; he knew temptations lye in ambush, behind our lawful enjoyments: in his apparel none more plain, in his dyet none more temperate, eating (as he would say) rationally, *only for health and life*; one meal a day sufficed him, with some fruit at night: in his sleep none more sparing, eleven or twelve at night being his usual time of going to rest, and five, and very rarely six, the hour of his rising: recreations which his judgement allowed, yet his care and self-denial forbid him; *ab illicitis semper quandoque à licitis*, was his rule: he would say, Things unlawful we must never do; nor ever lawful things, but with due respect of our calling and other concurrent circumstances. Wine and musick, and gorgeous apparel, and delicate fare, are such things as God in his goodness hath created and given to the children of men for their comfort; and they may use

use them lawfully, and take comfort in them as their portion: but he that shall use any of them *intemperately, or unseasonably, or vainly, or wastfully,* abuseth both them and himself. And therefore we shall often finde both the things themselves condemned, and those that used them blamed in the Scriptures. The men of Israel for *stretching themselves upon their couches, and eating the lambs out of the flock, and chaunting to the sound of the Viol, and drinking wine in bowls,* Amos 6. And the women for their *bracelets, and ear-rings, and wimples, and crisping pins,* and their other bravery, in *Esay 3.* And the rich man for *faring deliciously and wearing fine linnen,* in the Parable, *Luk. 16.* Yea, our Saviour himself pronounceth a woe against them that *laugh,* *Luk. 6.* And yet none of all these things are or were *in themselves* unlawful: it was the *excess* onely, or other *disorder* in the use of them, that made them obnoxious to reproof. Though some in their heat have said so, yet who can reasonably say, that *horse-matches,* or playing at *cards or dice,* are in themselves and wholly *unlawful*? And yet on the other side, what sober wise man, because the Things are *lawful,* would therefore approve of that vain and sinful expence which is oftentimes bestowed by men of mean estates in the *dieting* of Horses, and *wagering* upon them? or of that excessive abuse of *gaming,* wherein thousands of our Gentry spend in a manner their whole *time,* and consume away their whole *substance,* both which ought to be far more precious unto them? I might instance in many other things in like manner. In
all

all which, we may easily erre either in point of judgement, or *practice*, or both; if we do not wisely sever the *use* from the *abuse*. Many times because the *abuses* are common and great, we peevishly condemn in others the very *use* of some *lawful things*. And many times again, because there is evidently a *lawful use* of the things, we impudently justify our selves in the very *abuses* also. That is foolish preciseness in us; and this prophane partiality: by that we *infringe* our brethrens liberty; by this, *pollute* our own. The best and safest way for us in all *indifferent things* is this: to be indulgent to others, but strict to our selves; in allowing them their liberty with the most, but taking our own liberty ever with the least.

There are many things which in my conscience are not absolutely and *in Thesi necessary* to be done; which yet *in Hypothesi* for some *personal respects* I think so fit for me to do, that I should resolve to undergo some inconveniency rather than omit them; still reserving to others their liberty to do as they should see cause. There are again many things which in my conscience are not absolutely and *in Thesi unlawful* to be done; which yet *in Hypothesi*, and for the like *personal respects*, I think so *unfit* for me to do, that I should resolve to undergo some inconvenience rather than do them: yet still reserving to others the like liberty as before, to do as they should see cause. It belongeth to every sober Christian advisedly to consider not onely what in it self may *lawfully* be done or left undone; but also what in *godly wisdom* and discretion is
finest

fittest for him to do, or not to do upon all occasions, as the exigence of *present Circumstances* shall require.

And now you are willing I doubt not to hear Sect. 6.
 how this exact man appeared in the world. You His re-
 must know, that when he found his youthful heat moval
 abated and fined; his **Parts** and **Abilities** compe- from the
 tent; his **Understanding** furnished with all neces- Universi-
 sary knowledge; his **Memory** made faithful and ty.
 serviceable by method and deep apprehension; his
Invention upon any subject flowing with proper
Notions; his **Judgement** in a variety of **Learning**
 exact, and discerning things that differ; his **Prudence**
 for affairs mature and well weighed; and
 his **Soul** knit to a resolution able to meet with va-
 riety of occasions, with honour, quiet, pleasure
 and safety: he was not wedded to ease and specula-
 tion, nor wanting (what able men sometimes do)
 a publick **Patrociny** and **Encouragement**, in an-
 swer to the expectation of the **University** that bred
 him, of his **Generation** that looked for him, and
 his own inclination,——who would always say,
That Employment was Improvement. He left the **Uni-**
versity, having compassed with his knowledge the
 whole **Circle** of the **Arts**, being exact in propriety
 and elegance of **Languages**, having read ancient
 and modern **Writers**; having studied **Philosophy**,
 and made himself familiar with all politer **Clas-**
sick Authors, being learned in **School-Divinity**,
 and a **Master** in **Church-Antiquity**, ready in the
 sense of **Scripture**, **Fathers**, **Councils**, **Ecclesiasti-**
cal History: “Thus full of **Scripture-strength**, of
 “**Councils**

“ Councils weight, of Fathers consent, of Historick
 “ light, of Scholastick acuteness ; he, I say, left the
May 6. 1619 University freely, making not the usual advantage
 of his place, which was then prudence and good
 husbandry, but looked upon by him as the worst Sa-
 criledge in the *world*, as which at once betrayed the
 Church to the unworthy and weak, and the Uni-
 versity to the undeserving, and the Founders Cha-
 rity to those persons they never designed them for ;
 to the shame of the present Age, and the undoing
 of the future ; and betaking himself to his Charge
 at *Boothby-Pagnel* in *Lincoln-shire*, where we have
 him

Sect. 7.
 His
 Preach-
 ing.

Preaching solidly, not allowing himself the ea-
 sie liberty of doing the work of the Lord negli-
 gently. Although he was furnished with that Clas-
 sick and Authentick Learning, which readily ena-
 bled him to speak upon any occasion and subject
 properly, pertinently, copiously and handsomely ;
 yet such was his reverence of that great work, that
 he was very elaborate and exact in reading, medi-
 tating and composing his Sermons to rational and
 just Discourses. His method was to chuse his Text
pertinently ; to weigh its occasion, coherence, and
 other circumstances, *duely* ; to look out the truest
 reading of it, *industriously* ; to open that Original by
 reading out of the choicest Authors, and most pro-
 per learning in that kinde, *clearly* ; to drop such
 pithy and pertinent Observations, learned, moral,
 divine, as he went on in Explication, *judiciously* ;
 to pitch upon great Observations that were couch-
 ed in the several parts, *usefully* : which he deduced
 from

from the Text evidently, (for he could not endure those that wrested the Scripture for a truth, as men that were under a temptation of wresting them for an error) bottomed upon their proper Grounds and Reasons orderly, (pressing each truth with evidence raised from their several places in the body of Divinity) illustrated and enlarged with general Learning, and *improved* to the respective Duties of Christianity that he saw might rationally be inferred from them: and indeed his general Learning afforded him plenty of Observations, proper, learned and useful, upon each head. His way, like Dr. *Hammond*, was after every Sermon to resolve upon the ensuing subject, and to draw a Scheme of it, and to take in the course of his study what fell in conducive unto the present purpose; and he spoke from the heart to the heart.

As he provided strong meat for strong men, so he provided sincere milk for babes, spending an hour at evening in the Church-Catechism, where-at the Parents and elder sort were wont to be present, and from whence they reaped more benefit then from his Sermons; the great Principles of Religion working more powerfully upon them then his Discourses and Enlargements. *Christianity was most successful*, he would say, *when proposed naked and in its own evidence, as the truth was in Jesus*. By Catechising, the Gospel prevailed over Judaism and Heathenism; by Catechising, Popery incroached and broke in upon the Gospel; by Catechising, the Gospel again recovered itself, and got ground of Popery. He opened the Church-

Catechism distinctly, grounded them in each point stedfastly, and taught them their duties arising out of each part of Religion profitably; making it appear as he went along, *how the grace of God bringing salvation by Jesus Christ hath appeared, teaching men to deny all ungodliness and worldly lust, and to live soberly, justly and godly in the present world.*

As he taught them, so he and they lived up to a Religion pure and undefiled: he and they joyning together in the holy Offices, 1. Of Common-prayer in all the days appointed, devoutly and reverently, (where he and his family was the great Rule and Pattern.) 2. Of the holy Sacrament carefully and preparedly, not without previous instructions and directions publick and private. 3. In an holy love and charity, which taught them successfully, being exemplary therein, and being able by his great skill in all Laws to compose all Differences in his private address and conversation: his Judgement being so esteemed, that there were few that knew him, but would stand to his prudent and honest Arbitration: wherein the God of love and peace so blessed him, that as he maintained love among others, so he had the love of all; there being not any of his function either more esteemed while alive, or more lamented when dead. Neither did he think it enough to perswade his people to an obligingness in Conversation, unless he could work them to a charity and hospitality, whereby they might endear themselves to each other, and relieve the poor. Among them he would be the most welcome: for he understood
very

very well how much the Applications of the Table enforced the Doctrines of the Pulpit; and how subservient the endearing of his person was to the recommending of his instructions, where his elegant, apt and facetious way, sweetned his more serious discourse, and weighty conceptions: so that he was heard at once with the highest *pleasure* and *profit* in the world. As he urged their charity to the Poor earnestly, so he directed it discreetly, that the Idle partaked not of it: and truly the Needy had a stock raised for them, to employ and relieve them; I say, to employ and relieve them: for he had no charity for the Idle and the Vagrant,—the very scabs, filth and vermine of a Commonwealth. I mean such as have *health*, and *strength*, and *limbs*, and are in some measure able to *work*, and take pains for their living, yet rather chuse to *wander* abroad the Country, and to spend their days in a most base and ungodly course of life; and, which is yet more lamentable, by I know not what connivence, contrary to all *Conscience*, *Equity*, and *Law*, are suffered. All Christian *Commonwealths* should be the *Israels* of God; and in his *Israel*, God, as he *promised* there should be some always *poor*, on whom to exercise charity; so he *ordained* there should be no *beggar*, to make a trade and profession of begging. *Plato*, than whom never any laid down a more exact *Idea* of an happy Commonwealth, alloweth not any *beggar* therein; alledging, that where such were tolerated, it was impossible but the State must abound with *pilfering* and *whoring*, and all kinde of base villany. The

Civil Laws have flat Constitutions against them, in the Titles *de mendicantibus non invalidis*. But I think never kingdom had more wholesome laws in both kinds, I mean both for the competent relief of the orderly poor, and for sharp restraint of disorderly vagabonds, then those provisions which in many of our own memories have been made in this land. But *Quid leges sine moribus---*? Those *Laws* are now *no Laws*, for want of due execution: but *Beggars* are *Beggars* still, for want of due correction. *Et vetabitur semper, & retinebitur*; the saying is truer of *Rogues* and *Gypsies* in England, than ever it was of *Mathematicians* in Rome. You to whose care the preservation of the *Justice*, and thereby also of the *Peace* of the Land is committed, as you tender the *Peace* and *Justice* of the Land, as you tender your own quiet, and the safety of your neighbours; as you tender the weal of your Country, and the honour of God: breath fresh life into the languishing *Laws* by severe execution; be rather cruel to these *Vipers*, than to the State. So shall you free us from the *Plague*, and your selves from the guilt, and them from the opportunities, of infinite sinful abominations.

But we are unreasonable to press you thus far, or to seek to you or any others for *Justice* in this matter; having power enough in our own hands to do our selves *Justice* upon these men, if we would but use it: Even by making a strait Covenant with our *Ears*, not to heed them; and with our *Eyes*, not to pitty them; and with our *Hands*, not to relieve them. Say I this altogether of my self

self? or saith not the Apostle even the same? *He that will not labour, let him not eat*: relieve him not. But hath not Christ required us to *feed the hungry*, and to *cloath the naked*, and to be free and *charitable to the poor*? Nothing surer: God forbid any man should preach against *Charity* and *Almsdeeds*. But remember, that as God approveth not *Alms* or any other work, if without *Charity*; so nor *Charity* it self, if without *Discretion*. Honour *Widdows*, saith Saint Paul, *But those that are Widdows indeed*. So relieve the *poor*, but relieve those that are *poor indeed*. Not every one that *asketh*; not every one that *wanteth*; nay more, not every one that is *poor*, is *poor indeed*: and he that in his indiscreet and mis-guided charity should give to every one that *asketh*, or *wanteth*, or is *poor*, meat, or clothing, or *Alms*; would soon make himself more *hungry*, and *naked*, and *poor*, than he that is most *hungry*, or *naked*, or *poor*. The *poor*, whom Christ commendeth to thee as a fit object for thy charity, the *poor indeed*, are those that want, not onely the *things* they ask, but want also *means* to get without asking. A man that is *blind*, or *aged*, and past his *work*; a man that is *sick*, or *weak*, or *lame*, and cannot work; a man that desires it, and seeks it, and cannot get work; a man that hath a greater charge upon him than his honest pains can maintain; such a man as one of these, he is *poor indeed*. Let thine *Ears* be open, and thine *Eyes* open, and thy *Bowels* open, and thy *Hands* open to such a one: it is a charitable deed, and a *Sacrifice of sweet smelling*; with such *sacrifices* God is well pleased: Forget not thou.

thou to offer such *sacrifices* upon every good opportunity, and be well assured God will not forget in due time to reward thee. But for a lusty able *upright man* (as they stile him in their own dialect) that had rather *begg*, or *steal*, or both, than *dig*; he is no more to be *relieved* as a *poor man*, than a woman that hath poysoned her husband is to be *honoured* as a *Widow*. Such a woman is a *Widow*, for she hath no more an husband than any other *Widow* hath: but such a Woman is not a *Widow indeed*, as *St. Paul* would be understood; not such a *Widow* as he would have honoured: it is alms to hang up such a *Widow*, rather than to honour her. And I dare say, he that helpeth one of these *Sturdy Beggars* to the stocks, and the whip, and the house of correction, not only deserveth better of the *Common-wealth*; but doth a work of greater *Charity* in the sight of God, than he that helpeth him with *meat*, and *money*, and *lodging*. For he that doth this, corrupteth his *Charity* by a double errour. *First*, he maintaineth, and so *encourageth* the other in *idleness*; who, if none would relieve him, would be glad to do any *work* rather then starve. And *Secondly*, he disableth his *Charity*, by *mis-placing it*; and unawares robbeth the *poor*, whilst he thinketh he relieveth them. As he that giveth any *honour* to an *Idol*, robbeth the *true God*, to whom alone all *religious honour* is due: so he that giveth any *Alms* to an *idle beggar*, robbeth the truly *poor*, to whom properly all the fruits of our *Alms* are due. And so it cometh to pass oftentimes (as *Saint Ambrose* sometimes complained) that the maintainance of the *poor* is made the spoil of the *lozyterer*. To

To maintain that peace and quiet, he endeavour-
ed to keep every one within his own bounds, that
none defraud and go beyond another : wishing
them to have that one great Rule in their eye, *what*
ye would have others do unto you, that do ye unto them :
this is the Law and the Prophets. He would tell
them, that the reason why he lived so peaceably
with all his Neighbours, *was,* because he never
received from any of them any more then he would
willingly pay : the reason why he was so civil, he
always looked upon his Parishioner as if he were
the Minister, and upon himself the Minister as if
he were the Parishioner.

Neither was he less obliging in his Carriage to-
wards the Neighbouring Gentry, who were much
taken with his great Reason, useful Observation,
excellent Discourses, Civil, Moral, Philosophical,
Historical, Technical : and indeed his skill in Ar-
chitecture, Geography, Opticks, Geometry, A-
stronomy, Heraldry, in which he took great de-
light, much endeared him to his ingenious Neigh-
bours, who in his company might communicate
and improve their own. And indeed he observed
it very requisite that Ministers should have a com-
petent skill in History, Mathematicks, Law and
Phyick, to entertain the Ingenious, and to advise
the Ignorant, *who expect that the Priests lips should*
preserve all knowledge, and that the people should receive
it from their mouths. Excellent was that advice of
his : “ As the times now are, wherein *Learning a-*
“ *boundeth even unto wantonness,* and wherein the
“ World is full of Questions, and Controversies,
“ and

“and Novelties, and Niceties in *Religion*; and
 “wherein most of our *Gentry*, very *Women* and all,
 “(by the advantage of long *Peace*, and the customs
 “of modern *Education*, together with the help of a
 “multitude of *English books* and *Translations*) are
 “able to look through the ignorance of a *Clergy-*
 “*man*, and censure it, if he be tripping in any point
 “of *History*, *Cosmography*, *Moral* or *Natural Philo-*
 “*sophy*, *Divinity*, or the *Arts*; yea, and to chastise
 “his very *method* and *phrase*, if he speak loosely, or
 “impertinently, or but improperly, and if every
 “thing be not *point-vise*. I say, as these times are,
 “I would not have a *Clergy-man* content himself
 “with every *Mediocrity* of gifts; but by his pray-
 “ers, care and industry improve those he hath, so
 “as he may be able upon good occasion to *impart*
 “*spiritual gifts* to the people of God, *whereby they*
 “*may be established*, and to *speak* with such under-
 “standing, and sufficiency, and pertinency, (espe-
 “cially when he hath just *warning*, and a conveni-
 “ent time to prepare himself) in some good mea-
 “sure of proportion to the quickness and ripeness
 “of these present times, as they that love not his
 “*Coat*, may yet approve his *Labours*, and not finde
 “any thing therein whereat justly to quarrel:
 “*Shewing in his Doctrine* (as our Apostle writeth to
 “*Titus*) *uncorruptness*, *gravity*, *sincerity*, *sound speech*
 “*that cannot be condemned*, *that he that is of the con-*
 “*trary part may be ashamed*, *having no evil to say of*
 “*him*.

He was always so excellent a Neighbour, that
 he seldome failed in the civility of Visits and
 Cor-

Correspondence; the greatest advantages for good understanding and love: but especially in time of sickness, when affliction was an excellent preparative for instruction. Wherefore not onely when intreated, (as most of his dying Neighbours were unwilling to leave the world until he, good man, had settled their consciences upon Gospel-principles in peace with God) did he make his visits to all such as wanted his assistance; but before he was thought of, would he prevent their requests, by early and frequent addresses to them: attending diligently those *mallia tempora*, those gentle and most tractable opportunities of doing good which might be offered him.

As he was publick-spirited himself, so he endeavoured that all he had interest in, might be communicative; there being few Gentlemen of his acquaintance whom he had not directed to some noble or charitable work for mens improvement or relief: He, their great Casuist, having their hearts and purses at his devoir, and using his happy power always to their honour, comfort, and infinite satisfaction: so, he would say, he rescued the Creature from the *bondage of corruption, to the glorious service of God, and to Primitive innocence, and their first use.*

Although he was thus employed and taken up Sect. 8. at his private charge, and pleased with his beloved privacy and retirement; yet when summoned His Pub. like *Per-* to the Publick, as to *Paul's Cross*, to Visitations, to *forman-* Lectures, to the Court, to the University, he appeared with much zeal, ces. prudence, and holy abilities,

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lities, with elegant and useful performances, full
 of Dogmatick, Polemick, Practick, Casuistick and
 Critick Learning; where he offered the marrow
 and pith of the Fathers, the subtilty of the School-
 men, the solidity of the Neotericks, so ready, so
 clear, so percolated from the Authors obscurity or
 tediousness, that his Quintessence, or Distillati-
 ons of them in his Discourse, were more useful,
 perspicuous and vigorous, then the Originals or
 first Mass wherein they were diffused. At Visi-
 tations he offered deep, solid, clear and abstract
 Notions of Reason, Experience and Religion, for
 Order, Peace, Unity and Obedience, and pointed
 out those paths equally distant from superstition
 and licentiousness, wherein all wise and good Chri-
 stians should walk in peace, according to the will
 of God declared in Laws Natural, Civil, Moral
 and Ecclesiastical; where the attentive Hearers
 admired equally the acute manner, and the
 weighty matter of his Discourses; his strong Ar-
 guments, his clear Deductions, his impartial
 Judgement, his steady, even, and undistracted
 Thoughts, whereby he rescued poor souls, whose
 easiness cast them on obvious errors, rather then
 they would search after difficult and retired truths.
 He perswaded private Reasons, Pretences, Interests
 and Designes, to yeild to publick Law and com-
 mon good. He convinced the world that the things
 enjoined in our Church, are in their nature safe
 and lawful, in their use free; and to be used in o-
 bedience to Authority, for order, decency and edi-
 fication, as they might be forbore when not en-
 joyed,

joyned, or not conducing to order, decency, or a sacred solemnity. He taught men to bring their consciences to a Rule, and forbear nothing as against conscience which was not against a Rule, against Gods Word, against Faith, or Manners, or the nature of the things enjoyned. How clearly hath he proved, that as all necessities were enjoyned by expresse Scriptures; so all the Circumstances of Worship and Discipline were enjoyned in Scripture-intimations, which required all things *orderly* and *decent*? How pathetically would he urge, that Publick Authority knew better what Time, Place, Gesture, Garment, Phrase, Rite or Ceremony was most expedient and orderly, then any private Spirit; and that if any man would be contentious, *we had no such custome, nor the Churches of God*? How powerfully would he urge a Compliance with Publick Authority, to avoid scandal, to testifie our Charity, Humility and Obedience; to shew our Reverence and fear of it; to use our Christian Liberty soberly, charitably and obediently; that Laws might be observed, the Church might be composed, Charity might be revived, Dangers might be avoided, the Kingdome might be settled, good Christians might be edified, God might be obeyed, and our Superiours for Gods sake? Thus he studied, debated, cleared and composed Differences; thus he satisfied Scruples; thus he justified the Churches Liberty and Authority: the care of which so entirely possessed him, that he reduced most of his study to that designe; which he managed with plenty of Matter, with variety of

Reading, with full and pertinent Citations, with clear and copious Expressions, methodical Proceedings, powerful Demonstrations, Fundamental Reason, Original Law, Essential Religion, with a prudent discovery of the proportions of order and policy, of the boundaries of Government, and the great principles of peace. And all this was the better taken, because taught by a man not onely of vast and great Abilities, of full maturity of Judgement; but of great Integrity in his Designe, of great innocency and unblameableness in his Conversation; of a good Conscience; of a great calmness and composure in Spirit; of a vast Comprehension, who strained the Quintessence of Reason, Religion, Laws Grecian, Roman, Imperial, and Civil, Canon and Ecclesiastical, to his great Platform for Peace, Unity and Settlement.

Sect. 9.

At Court
and Lectures.

At Court, and in his Lectures, he pursued the most necessary Duties, and the most concerning Cases of Conscience: for he observed, That it is one *Stratagem* of the Arch-enemy of mankind, (and when we know his *miles*, we may the better be able to *defeat* him) by busying men of great and useful parts in *by-matters*, and things of lesser consequence, to divert them from following that *unum necessarium*, that which should be the main in all our endeavours, the beating down of *sin*, the planting of *Faith*, and the reformation of *manners*. *Controversies*, I confess, are necessary, the *Tongues* necessary, *Histories* necessary, *Philosophy* and *The Arts* necessary, other *Knowledge* of all sorts necessary in the Church; for *Truth* must be maintained, *Scripture-*

pture-phrases opened, *Heretic* confuted, the mouths of *Adversaries* stopped, *Schisms* and *Novelties* suppressed: But when all is done, *positive* and *Prætique Divinity* is it must bring us to Heaven: that is it must poise our *judgements*, settle our *consciences*, direct our *lives*, mortifie our *corruptions*, increase our *graces*, strengthen our *comforts*, save our *souls*. *Hoc opus, hoc studium*: there is no study to this, none so well worth the labour as this, none that can bring so much *profit* to others, nor therefore so much *glory* to God, nor therefore so much *comfort* to our own hearts, as this. *This is a faithful saying, and these things I will that thou affirm constantly* (saith St. Paul to Titus) *that they which have believed in God might be careful to maintain good works: these things are good and profitable unto men.* You cannot do more good unto the Church of God, you cannot more *profit* the people of God, by your *gifts*; then by pressing effectually these two great points, *Faith*, and *good works*. These are good and profitable unto men.

Inſomuch that the excellent King would ſay, I bring an ear to hear others; I bring a conscience to hear *Sanderson*. And the throng of Auditors in Court and Country was so fixed and attentive upon the deep, rational, and knowing Emanations of his soul, as if they expected new Rules of Life from that great Searcher of Rules and Laws. His great care was, so to direct his Heart, his Tongue, his Endeavour in the exercise of his Ministry, both publick and private, that by Gods blessing upon his Labours, he might be enabled to advance Gods glory,

glory, to promote his truth, to benefit his Church, to propagate all Christian Duties, to discharge a good conscience in the mean time; and at the last, make his account with comfort at the appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Sect. 10. From the year 1624. to his death, there was no
 At Con- Convocation, or Assembly, or Treaties, but he was
 vocations. called to, as a man of deep Observation in the public defects of the Church; of great prudence in applying remedies suitable to those defects, in the fear of God and love of his truth, so as became a man of Learning, Gravity, and a good Conscience, in so grand Concernments as imported the peace of the Church, the satisfaction and salvation of mens souls. For which Meetings he prepared himself by a view of all Judgements in the Controversies there likely to be debated, which he drew up into Tables still to be seen, that he might try all things, and hold fast that which is good. Where-ever he appeared, whether in the School, or in Convocation, or in a Committee, (as at the Dean of *Westminster*, *March 21. 1640.*) his moderation was known unto all men:

1. In those five Points controverted so much in *England* as well as *Holland*, of, 1. Predestination; 2. Reprobation; 3. Universal Redemption; 4. Effectual Grace; and, 5. Perseverance: he pitched upon such a mean as Bishop *Usher*, Bishop *Davenant*, Bishop *Overal* aimed at, and the excellent Dr. *Hammond* approved of, as appears in his Letters of Accord with that incomparable Doctor.

2. As

2. As to the Popish Controversies and Adversaries, he had so far pity and charity for those plain and honest-hearted people of that way, as either their errours or ignorance in some things not fundamental, did not betray them either to unbelief or presumption, or to final impenitency, or immorality, or uncharitableness. He was herein of Bishop *Usher's* minde, in his Sermon before King *James an* *Wansted*.

3. As to our Reformation: he had a great esteem for the Moderation of it, a great Veneration for the Instruments employed of God in it, and a great love of that wholesome way of Doctrine, Life, Devotion and Government then composed: not that he was such a Formalist, but that he wished an alteration of some Words, Phrases, and Method and Order, to which change of times, or Language, or the like, might *invite*; though he judged all alterations in such grand and established Concerns of Religion, should be done by the publick Spirit, Counsel and Consent of the Prophets, Prince and People.

4. As to Conformity to the Church, although no man more eminent then he for Orthodox Divinity, and orderly Conformity, yet if any out of scruple or tenderness of conscience was less satisfied with some things, no man had a more tender heart to pity and pray for them; none had a gentler and more powerful way to win and persuade those that were capable, ingenious and honest. Indeed he would say as Bishop *Brownrig*, That *nothing was less to be stickled for or against,*
then

then Ceremonies; and yet that nothing was to be stickled for more then Obedience to Governours enjoyning even the smallest Ceremonies: not for the worth of the Ceremony, but for the Obedience due to Authority for conscience sake.

5. In the business of Church-government, as he was too knowing to question, so he was too honest to deny the universal Customs and Practice of the Church of Christ, in all ages and places for 1500 years for Episcopacie; yet was he passionately inclined to any fair and fraternal accommodation, that humble, orderly and worthy Ministers might have all their, and Bishops no more than was their due by Scripture, primitive Customs, by the Laws of the Land, and by principles of order and true government among all societies of men. As his demonstrations for Episcopacie were potent, his perswasions pathetick: so his designs were upright and just, his deportment so fatherly and friendly, that he was able to reclaim all rational, sober and honest men.

Sect. 11. In all revolutions, as he had espoused principles
His Con- constant to truth and duty, so he stood firm to *his*
stancie principles, as a judicious and conscientious man, as
and Pa- a wise and honest man, where he saw Scripture and
ence. Law tyed him up: bearing up with his great abilities against the stream, while Reason could be heard; and afterward retyring within himself, and wrapping himself in innocence and patience: more affected with the publick sins and miseries, than his own suffering: Always as cheerful as one that had the continual feast of a good conscience

science, and the happiness to learn in what state soever he was, therewithall to be contented, and to know how patiently to want, and how wisely and soberly to abound.

Nothing troubled him more, than that he was layd aside and made useles, when a whole Nation desired to imploy him, and many eminent Persons (as the Honorable Mr. Boyle, 1659) endeavoured by all means to contrive a way, wherein he might communicate his excellent notions to the world. He was a man of whom the world was not worthy: How willing were men to have more of that man, who had composed so many excellent Sermons as they read? who had written those judicious pieces *De juramento & de obligatione Conscientiae* which they enjoyed? who had penned the Satisfactory Reason and Judgement of the University of Oxford against the Covenant, which they perused? who attained that exactness in controversies, which in the Letters of accord to Dr. Hammond they observed? What reason would have suppressed this worth? What people would have deprived this man? What Government would have laid aside so much reason, judgement and most useful Learning?

As he went through all conditions prudently, patiently, faithfully and honourably: so he fulfilled all relations conscientiously. 1, He was a good, faithful, tender and loving, discreet husband, as I take it, of one Wife, with whom he liyed some years comfortably, to whom he intrusted his Household-affairs intirely; whom he troubled

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not

not with unnecessary business above her capacity.
 “He was more for an honourable Marriage, then
 “such an affected Coelibacy, as was less consistent
 “with sanctity, and less able to bear off those
 household-cares and other intercurrent troubles,
 which a Ministers condition and charge brings
 with it. 2, He was a good father, prudent and
 indulgent to his children, exemplary before
 them: constantly recommending love and amity
 to them; and wisely disposing them according to
 their capacities and tempers, and devoting
 them to God: and giving them his blessing, and
 scattering among them excellent rules of living
 and dying. 3, He was a provident, careful, ten-
 der and discreet Master, directing each Servant
 to his peculiar advantage in his service; reckoning
 nothing so much his honour, as Gods blessing up-
 on his thriving Servants. 4, He was a most ex-
 cellent friend, punctual, honest, useful, and com-
 municative. 5, He was a Loyal Subject, by no
 considerations to be moved from his dutiful re-
 spects of fidelity, gratitude, love and obedience due
 to his Sovereign from him, as a Christian, and a
 Church-man; he denied any capacity in Christian
 Subjects to resist those in authority, under any
 pretence whatsoever, there being a necessity for
 obeying, in doing, or suffering for conscience sake,
 as he expresth himself honestly and rationally
 in his preface to Bishop *Ushers* Book of *Power and*
Obedience.

He was made Bishop by his Majesties gracious
 favour, with the universal vote of all good men,

anno

anno 1660. as who expected, his Prudence, Counsel, Equanimity and Moderation equal with his other Abilities, might allay Animolities, close Differences, heal mens Distempers, and work a right Understanding; all men imagining his Gravity might awe, his Goodness oblige, his Moderation temper, his Reason perswade, and his approved Sincerity prevail upon all men *otherwise minded*: for he was not onely (as I told you) a man of much *Learning and Reading*, but of a *mature Understanding*, and a *mellow Judgement* in all matters Politick and Prudential; both Ecclesiastical and Civil. Inso-much that it was thought, if his excellent temper had sooner been added as an allay to some other mens hottest spirits, possibly we had not seen things run to that disorder and ruine; his Gravity and Discretion being likely to allay and fix the Clergy to a due temperament, (guiding some mens well-meaning Zeal by such Rules of Moderation as might best preserve the Government and Constitution of this Church and Kingdome.)

In this place he settled himself more to comply with the publick good, then his own inclinations: looking up to him who called him to the Office of a Bishop, that great and good work, for direction and assistance in all the intricate Affairs that were before him.

I. He had this advantage of other men, that when he entred upon that employment which lay open to the envy and malice of so many, that his *Life* was so spotless, his *Integrity* so eminent, that Partiality it self could not accuse him; he being a

man of solid worth, in whom was nothing dubious or dark, nothing various or inconstant, nothing formal or affected; nothing as to his publick carriage that was suspected, nothing that needed *palliation* or apologie. I never heard of any thing said or done by him, which a wise and good man would have wished not said, or undone. As *Diogenes* confuted him who allowed not motion, by saying nothing, but walking before his eyes: so this excellent person neglected the suggestions of people dissatisfied against his Order, but walked warily and circumspectly in his Calling, really shaming those Cavils by his Conversation.

His greatness prejudiced not his humility and diligence: the meanest Minister had free access to him: the meanest service had some time allotted to it: *Evangelizavit manu & Scriptione*; by his instruction, teaching the Clergy to preach; by his instruction, teaching the Laity to live. Hereby he governed hearts, ruling the Church as Christ himself by the Word, and making men yeild him a true and willing Obedience, reverencing God in him.

Painful, pious and peaceable Ministers, throughout his Visitation, were his chief Favourites: he looked them out of their retirements, to bring them to employment and preferment. He very discreetly bestowed the Encouragements he had in his Diocess, on persons of most reputed piety, sufficiency and usefulness.

As he was very careful to prefer good men that he found in Orders, so he was as careful to admit
none

none but good men to Orders; lest, as he would say, he should have reason (with him who made a dangerous man Priest) to wish he had laid his hands rather *on the Briers than on such a mans head*. For their Parts, he trusted onely his own Judgement; for their Conversation, he trusted such men of known integrity, as gave their Testimonials not out of courtesie but conscience: and he would say, "That whosoever gives a Certificate, enters into bonds with God and the Church, under a heavy forfeiture to avouch the honesty of the party recommended; and, as *Judah for Benjamin*, they become *sureties for the young man to his father*. Nor let them (as one saith) think to avoid the bond, and make it but a blank, with that clause, *So far forth as we know*; for what saith the Apostle? *God is not mocked*.

He was careful and happy in suppressing the innovations he met with in Doctrine and Discipline; mildly winning men, rather then severely punishing them: such Offenders as were unhappy in deserving, were yet happy in doing penance in his presence; who aimed not at their suffering, but instruction; who would not have them undone, but reclaimed and reformed: and when he was severest to the *fault*, he made it appear he was kind to the *man*.

Church-censures of, 1. Admonition, 2. Excommunication, 3. Aggravation, 4. Penance, 5. Absolution, were by him seriously and solemnly used, with great reverence, and on great occasions, that they might be restored to the Primitive esteem and veneration. He

He employed his power wholly in Church-affairs, meddling as little as he could with Affairs of State: not that he was unable to manage them, but that he thought them unworthy to be managed by him: onely he would endeavour a good understanding between Prince and People: yet he rather admired then condemned such reverend and able persons, who are strengthened with that which would distract him; making the concurrence of Civil and Temporal power in themselves, support one another.

Thus this good man was, in my judgement, the *Idea* of an excellent Prelate; coming up exactly to that excellent character of a Bishop, as one among men the most sober, among Christians the most religious, among Preachers the most exact, among Scholars the most useful, among Ministers the most faithful, among Governours the most moderate, among Martyrs the most patient and constant; who when he had discharged his conscience honestly, served his Prince successfully, assisted the Church industriously, gone through all charges renownedly, leaving nothing behind him justly to be blamed, or sinisterly to be suspected, but all things deservedly commended by wise and sober Christians, bequeathing to Posterity Principles of Government clearly stated and rationally expressed, with the general sorrow of the Church, but his own great satisfaction, was taken away with an happy *Exthanasia*, composedly, peaceably and comfortably departing, giving himself to Prayers,
Medi-

Meditations, and Discourses, which his own strength could bear, or others kindness could reasonably afford him, full of the grace and peace of God, and confirmed (as Dr. Reynolds, &c.) by the Absolution of the Church, (which belongs to all that die in the true Faith, and blessed hope of penitent sinners) he calmly rendred his holy, devout and precious soul to God that gave it, in a time when, with Bishop Bancroft, he could say, *Eo temporis occubui quò mallem rationem Episcopatus coràm Deo dare, quam Episcopatum coràm hominibus exercere.*

Quis damnaverit eam qui duabus potentissimis rebus defenditur jure & mente. — Quint.

And thus, Sir, if I have done nothing else, I have made it appear that I am so much at your devotion, that I chuse rather to expose my self, then displease you; and venture at these few Remarques of this admirable person, rather then refuse a compliance with you in what would be such satisfaction to you, and such advantage (as you say) to the Publick: especially considering that publick good was the great designe of this worthy Bishops both Preaching and Living, VVriting and Government.

I could wish I were able to pay my reverence to his great Vertues in publishing them to the world; In the mean time, devoting to your delight this imperfect, yet affectionate and well-meant Account of that great Learning and Prudence, Judgement
and

and Zeal, Sincerity and Integrity, Humility and Charity, Conscience and Exactness, which are worthy of all mens imitation, and shall be my great pattern by Gods assistance; by whose grace if I may live what I have writ, I have attained what is the serious and just ambition of

Your most humble

Servant

D. F.

Bishop Sanderson.

Two things I have always had in my Care, **TRUTH** and **PERSPICUITY**: (for whereunto else serveth that *ἀσφαλις ἐμπνευστήν*, wherewith God endued man, but to *speake Reason*, and be understood?)

King Charles.

I bring my **EAR** to hear others, I bring my **CONSCIENCE** to hear Sanderson.



Bishop Sanderson
 HIS
 JUDGMENT
 IN ONE
 VIEW
 FOR THE
 SETTLEMENT
 OF THE
 CHURCH.

Quest. *How far we may Indulge good and godly men of tender consciences dissenting from us in liberty of Conscience.*

Answ. First, besides that all parties pretend to Godliness ; Papists, Anabaptists, and what not? (even the late-sprung-up generation of Levellers, whose Principles are so destructive of all that Order and Justice by which publick societies are supported, do yet style themselves, as by a kinde of peculiarity, The Godly;) And that secondly, it is the easiest thing in the world, and nothing more

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common

common then for men to pretend *Conscience*, when they are not minded to *obey*: I do not believe *thirdly*, (though I am well perswaded of *the godliness* of many of them otherwise,) that *the refusal* of indifferent *Ceremonies* enjoined by *Lawful Authority*, is any part of their *Godliness*; or any good fruit, evidence, or sign thereof. But certain it is *fourthly*, that *the godliest* men are *men*, and *know but in part*; and by the power of *godliness* in their *hearts*, are no more secured from the possibility of falling into *Error* through *Ignorance*, then from the possibility of falling into Sin through *Infirmity*. And as for *Tenderness* of *Conscience* *fifthly*, a most gracious blessed fruit of *the holy Spirit* of God, where it is *really*, and not *in pretence* only, nor *mistaken*, (for sure it is no very *tender Conscience*, though sometimes called so, that *straineth at a Gnat, and swalloweth a Camel*;) it is with it, as with other *tender* things; very subject to receive *harme*, and soon put out of *order*. Through the cunning of *Satan*, it dangerously *exposeth* men to *temptations on the right hand*: and through its own aptitude to entertain and to cherish *unnecessary scruples*, it strongly *disposeth* them to *listen* thereunto so long, till at the last they are *overcome* thereof. Needful it is therefore, that in the publick teaching *the Errors* should be sometimes refuted, and *the Temptations* discovered: And this ever to be done *seasonably, soberly, discreetly, and convincingly*; and when we are to deal with men whose *Consciences* are (so far as we can discern) truly *tender*,
with

with the spirit of *meekness* and *Compassion*. For *tender* things must be *tenderly* dealt withall, or they are lost. I know it is not allwayes *so done*: nor can we expect it should. All *preachers* are neither so *charitable*, nor so *prudent*, not so *conscientious* as they should be: And they that are such in a good measure, are *men* still; and may be *transported* now and then through *passion*, and *infirmity*, beyond the just bounds of *moderation*.

Quest. Whether good men should be suspended from the exercise of their ministry, and deprived of their livelyhood, ^{for Ceremonies} which are on all hands acknowledged indifferent: and indeed in comparison to the work of the ministry are but trifles, however some men dote on them.

Ans^r. Let Ceremonies (secondly) be as very Trifles, as any man can imagine them to be; yet Obedience sure is no Trifle. They mis-state the Question, when they talke of pressing Ceremonies. It is Obedience (formally) that is required: Ceremonies not otherwise pressed, then as the matter wherein that Obedience is to be exercised. If a master appoint his servant to do some small matter that he thinketh fit to have done, though in it selfe of no great moment; yet he will expect to be obeyed: and it is great reason he should. If in such case the servant should refuse to do the thing appointed, because he hath no minde thereunto; and should receive a check or correction for such refusal: could he either sufficiently excuse his own fault, or reasonably complain of his master for dealing

ling hardly with him, by saying the thing was but *a Trifle*? Is it not evident, that the thing which made *the master* angry, and *the Servant* an offender in *that case*, was not (*precisely and formally*) the leaving of the thing *undone*, (which had it not been *commanded*, might have been left *undone* without any *fault* or *blame* at all;) but *the refusing* to do it, when he that had *a right* to his service *commanded* him? Wherefore *Thirdly*, that which is said of some mens *dotting* so extreamely on *Ceremonies*, might have been well enough spared. I know no true son of *the Church of England*, that doteth upon any *Ceremony*, whatsoever opinion he may have of *the decency* or *expediency* of some of them. If any do; let him *answer* for himself. Among wise men, he will hardly pass for a *wise man*, that *doteth* upon any. Nor will he, I doubt, prove a much *wiser man*, that runs into *the contrary* extream, and *abhorreth* all. It is true *Fourthly*, that there have been long and *unkinde quarrels* about these things; More is *the pitty*! but where is *the fault*? To whom is *the beginning*, and to whom *the continuance* of a quarrel rather imputable? to him, that *demandeth* his right? or to him that *with-holdeth* it from him? For this is the plain *Case* in short: *The Bishops* (*under the King*) require *obedience* to the *Laws Ecclesiastical*; these men *refuse* to give it. So began the *quarrel* at first; and upon the same terms it *continued*. If the *Obedience* challenged were indeed due to these *Laws*; then did our *Brethren* both *begin* the quarrel, and *hold it on*: if it were not, then
must

must the whole *blame* lie upon them that *claimed it unjustly*, and not upon them. So that in the winding up of the business, the whole *Controversie* will devolve upon this point ; Whether to the *Laws Ecclesiastical* obedience be due or not? For the right determining whereof, (for so much as it is confest on all hands, that *Obedience* is due to *Lawful authority* commanding *lawful things*) two other points are to be resolved ; the one concerning *the authority* by which the Constitutions were made ; the other concerning *the lawfulness* of the things therein required ; *The Presbyterians of the Kirk* flatly and directly deny both : *Ours*, less forward to declare their opinion in *the former* point, have chosen rather to stand upon *the latter* only. And so *the point in issue* is briefly this ; Whether *the things* commanded (and particularly the *Ceremonies*) be *lawful*, yea, or no.

When for *decency, order, or uniformity's* sake any *constitutions* are made concerning *ceremonies*, there is the same *necessity* of obeying such *Constitutions*, as there is of obeying other *lawes* made for the good of *the Common-wealth* concerning any other *indifferent* things. That such *necessity*, either in the one or the other, ariseth not properly from *the authority* of the immediate *Lawgiver* ; but from *the Ordinance of God*, who hath commanded us to obey *the ordinance of men* for his sake. That such *necessity of obedience* notwithstanding, *the things* remain in the same *indifferency* as before ; Every way in respect of their Nature, and *quoad Rem*,

(it being not in the power of *accidental relations* to change the *natures* of things :) and even in respect of their *Use*, and *quoad nos*, thus far, that there is a *liberty* left for men, upon extraordinary and other just occasions, sometimes to do otherwise then the Constitution requireth, *extra casum Scandali & Contemptus*.. A *liberty*, which we dare not either take our *selves*, or allow to others, in things properly and absolutely necessary : Upon which very account (I mean the consideration of the indifferency of the things in themselves) and upon which account alone it is, that many of the Episcopal (that is to say, the true English Protestant) Divines, who sadly resent the voting down of the Liturgy, Festivals, and Ceremonies of the Church by so many former Laws established, heartily desired heretofore the continuance, and as heartily still wish the restitution, and are (by Gods help) ready with their Tongues, Pens and Sufferings to maintain and justify the Lawful use of the same: do yet so far yield to the sway of the times, and are perswaded they may with a good Conscience so do, as to forbear the use thereof in the publick worship ; till it shall seem good to those that are in place of authority either to restore them to their former state (as it is well hoped, when they shall have duly considered the evil consequences of that Vote, they will,) or at leastwise and in the mean time to leave them arbitrary, for men, according to their several different judgements, to use or not to use, which seemeth but reason-

reasonable, the like favour and liberty in other kinds having been long allowed to almost all other sorts of men, though of never so distant persuasions one from another. Lastly, That all *Laws* made concerning *Ceremonies* or other *indifferent* things, whether *Civil* or *Ecclesiastical*, are *mutable*: and as they were at first made by *humane authority*, so may they from time to time be by *humane authority* abrogated and repealed. And then and thenceforth they lose their *obligation*: whereby the *necessity* of yielding *obedience* thereunto wholly cealeth and determineth; and the *things* thereby *commanded* or *prohibited*, return to their primitive and natural *indifferency*, even in their *Use* also, and in respect of us.

But in the Case of our Church now it is far otherwise. *Cap, Surplice, Cross, Ring* and other *Ceremonies*, which are the Matter of our differences, though they be things *indifferent* for their *nature*, and in themselves: yet are not so for their *use*, and unto us. If the Church had been silent, if *Authority* had prescribed nothing herein, these *Ceremonies* had then remained for their *use*, as they are for their *nature*, *indifferent*: *Lawful*, and such as might be used without sin; and yet *Arbitrary*, and such as might be also *forborn* without sin. But men must grant (though they be unwilling, if yet they will be reasonable) that every *particular Church* hath power for *decency* and *orders* sake, to ordain and constitute *ceremonies*. Which being once ordained, and by publick authority enjoined, cease to be *indiffere*.

indifferent for their *use*, though they remain still so for their *nature*: and of *indifferent* become so *necessary*, that neither may a man without sin *refuse* them, where Authority requireth; nor *use* them, where Authority restraineth the use.

Neither is this accession of *Necessity* any impeachment to *Christian Liberty*; or *insnaring* of mens *consciences* as some have objected. For then do we ensnare mens *consciences* by *humane constitutions*, where we thrust them upon men as if they were *divine*; and bind mens *consciences* to them *immediately*, as if they were immediate parts of *Gods worship*, or of absolute necessity unto salvation. This *Tyranny* and *Usurpation* over mens *Consciences*, the *Pharisees* of old did, and the *Church of Rome* at this day doth exercise, and we justly hate in her, equalling, if not preferring her *Constitutions* to the *Laws* of GOD. But our *Church* (GOD be thanked) is far from any such impious presumption: and hath sufficiently *declared* her self by solemn *protestation*, enough to satisfy any ingenuous impartial judgement, that by requiring obedience to these *ceremonial constitutions*, she hath no other purpose, then to reduce all her *children* to an *orderly conformity* in the *outward worship* of God; so far is she from seeking to draw any opinion, either of *divine necessity* upon the *constitution*, or of *effectual holiness* upon the *ceremony*. And as for the prejudice which seemeth to be hereby given to *Christian liberty*, it is so slender a conceit, that it seemeth to bewray in the objectors a desire, not so much of *satisfaction*,

satisfaction, as cavil. For *first*, the liberty of a Christian to all indifferent things, is in *the Mind and Conscience*: and is then infringed, when *the Conscience* is bound and strained, by imposing upon it an opinion of *doctrinal Necessity*. But it is no wrong to *the Liberty* of a Christian mans conscience, to bind him to *outward observation* for *Orders* sake; and to impose upon him *a necessity of Obedience*. Which one distinction of *Doctrinal* and *Obediential Necessity* well weighed, and rightly applyed, is of it self sufficient to clear all doubts in this point. For, to make all *restraint* of the outward man in matters *indifferent* an impeachment of *Christian liberty*; what were it else, but even to bring flat *Anabaptisme* and *Anarchy* into the Church? and to overthrow all bond to *subjection* and *obedience* to lawful authority? I beseech you consider, wherein can *the immediate power* and authority of *Fathers, Masters*, and other *Rulers* over their inferiours consist; or the due *obedience* of inferiours be shewn towards them: if not in these *indifferent* and *Arbitrary* things? For, things *absolutely necessary*, as commanded by God, we are bound *to do*; whether humane Authority *require* them, or no: and things *absolutely Unlawful*, as prohibited by God, we are bound *not to do*; whether humane Authority *forbid* them, or no. There are none other things left then, wherein to express properly *the Obedience* due to superiour Authority, then these *Indifferent things*. And if a *Father* or *Master* have power to prescribe to his *Child* or *Servant* in *indifferent*

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things;

things; and such restraint be no way prejudicial to *Christian liberty* in them: Why should any man, either deny the like power to *Church-Governours*, to make *Ecclesiastical-constitution* concerning indifferent things? or interpret that power to the prejudice of *Christian Liberty*? And again *Secondly*, Men must understand, that it is an error to think *Ceremonies* and *constitutions* to be things *meerly* *in different*: I mean in the general. For howsoever every *particular Ceremony* be indifferent; and every *particular constitution* arbitrary and alterable; yet that there should be some *Ceremonies*, it is necessary *Necessitate absoluta*, in as much as no outward work can be performed without *Ceremonial* circumstances, some or other: and that there should be some *Constitutions* concerning them, it is also necessary (though not simply and absolutely, as the former; yet *ex hypothesi*, and) *necessitate convenientiæ*. Otherwise, since some *Ceremonies* must needs be used; every *Parish*, nay every *man* would have his own fashion by himself, as his humour led him: whereof what other could be the issue, but infinite *distraction*, and unorderedly *confusion* in the Church? And again *thirdly*, to return their weapon upon themselves; If every restraint in *indifferent things* be injurious to *Christian liberty*: then themselves are injurious no less by their *negative* restraint from some *Ceremonies*, *Wear not, Cross not, Kneel not, &c.* then they would have the world believe our Church is by her positive *restraint* unto these *Ceremonies* of *wearing, and crossing, and kneeling, &c.*
 Let

Let indifferent men judge, nay let themselves that are parties judge, whether is more injurious to Christian Liberty; *publick Authority* by mature advice commanding, what might be forborn: or *private spirits* through humorous dislikes, forbidding what may be used: the *whole Church* imposing the use, or a *few Brethren* requiring the *forbearance* of such things, as are otherwise and in themselves equally *indifferent* for use, or for forbearance.

But they say, *our Church* makes greater matters of *Ceremonies* than thus; and preferreth them even before the most *necessary duties* of preaching & administering *the Sacraments*: in as much as they are imposed upon *ministers* under pain of *Suspension* and *Deprivation* from their Ministerial *Functions* and *Charges*. First, for actual Deprivation; I take it, unconfirming Ministers have no great cause to complain. "Our Church, it is well known, hath not alwayes used that rigour she might have done. Where she hath been forced to proceed as far as *deprivation*! she hath *ordinarily* by her fair, and slow, and compassionate proceeding therein, sufficiently manifested her unwillingness thereto: and declared her self a Mother every way indulgent enough to such ill-nurtured Children, as will not be ruled by her. *Secondly*, those that are *suspended* or *deprived*; suffer it but justly for their *obstinacy* and *contempt*. For howsoever they would bear the world in hand, that they are *the only persecuted ones*, and that they suffer for their *consciences*: yet in truth, they do but abuse

the credulity of the simple therein; and herein (as in many other things) jump with the *Papists*, whom they would seem above all others most abhorrent from. For as *Seminary Priests* and *Jesuits* give it out that they suffer for *Religion*; when the very truth is, they are justly executed for their prodigious *Treasons*, and felonious or teacherous *practises* against lawful Princes & Estates: So *the brethren* pretend they are *persecuted* for their *consciences*; when they are indeed but justly *censured* for their obstinate and pertinacious *contempt* of lawful authority. For it is not *the refusal* of these *Ceremonies* they are deprived for, otherwise then as *the matter* wherein they shew their *contempt*: it is *the contempt* it self, which *formerly* and properly subjecteth them to just *Ecclesiastical censure* of Suspension or Deprivation. And *contempt of authority*, though in the smallest matter deserveth no small punishment: all *authority* having been ever sollicitous (as it hath good reason) above all things to vindicate and preserve it self from *contempt*; by inflicting sharp punishments upon *contemptuous* persons in *the smallest* matters, above all other sorts of offenders in any degree whatsoever. Thus have we shewed and cleared the *first* and main difference betwixt *the case* of my Text, and the case of our Church, in regard of *the matter*: the things whereabout they differed, being every way *indifferent*; ours not so.

The determination of *Superiours* may and ought to restrain us in the outward exercise of our *Christian liberty*. We must *submit our selves to every Ordinance*

Ordinance of man, saith *St. Peter*, *1 Pet. 2. 13.* and it is necessary we should do so: for *so is the will of God*, *Ver. 15.* Neither is it against *Christian liberty* if we do so; for we are still as free as before: rather if we do not so, we *abuse our liberty for a cloak of maliciousness*, as it followeth there, *ver. 16.* And *St. Paul* telleth us we *must needs be subject, not only for fear*, because the Magistrate *carryeth not the sword in vain, but also for Conscience sake*, because the powers that are, are *ordained of God*. This duty, so fully pressed and so uniformly by these two grand Apostles, is most apparent in *private societies*. In a family, *the Master*, or *Pater familias*, who is a kind of *petty Monarch* there, hath authority to prescribe to his *Children* and *servants* in the use of those *indifferent things* whereto yet they, as *Christians*, have as much *liberty* as he. *The servant*, though he be *the Lords free-man*, yet is limited in his *diet, lodging, livery*, and many other things by his *master*: and he is to submit himself to his *Masters* appointment in these things, though perhaps in his *private affection* he had rather his *Master* had appointed otherwise: and perhaps withall in his *private judgement*, doth verily think it fitter his *Master* should appoint otherwise. If *any man* under colour of *Christian liberty*, shall teach otherwise, and exempt *servants* from the obedience of their *masters* in such things: *St. Paul* in a holy indignation inveigheth against such a man, not without some bitterness, in the last Chapter of this Epistle, as one that is *proud, and knoweth nothing*, as he should do,

but doateth about questions and strife of words, &c.
ver. 3. 5.

Now look what power *the master* hath over his *servants* for the ordering of his *family*; no doubt the same at the least, if not much more, hath *the supreme magistrate* over his *subjects*, for the peace of *the Common-wealth*: the Magistrate being *Pater Patriæ*, as the Master is *Pater familias*. Who-soever then shall interpret *the determinations of magistrates* in the use of *the Creatures* to be contrary to *the liberty* of a Christian: or under that colour shall exempt *inferiours* from their *obedience* to such determinations, he must blame *Saint Paul*; nay he must blame *the holy Ghost*, and not us; if he hear from us that he is *proud, and knoweth nothing, and doateth about unprofitable Questions*. Surely, but that *experience* sheweth us it hath been so, and *the Scriptures* have foretold us that it should be so: that there should be *differences*, and *siftings*, and *part-takings* in the Church: a man would wonder how it should ever sink into the hearts and heads of sober understanding men, to deny either *the power* in Superiours to *ordain*, or *the necessity* in Inferiours to *obey* Laws and constitutions, so restraining us in the use of *the Creatures*.

Neither let any man cherish his ignorance herein: by conceiting, as if there were some difference to be made between *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical* Things, and Laws, and Persons in this behalf. The truth is, our *liberty* is equal in both: *the power* of Superiours so restraint equal in both, and *the necessity* of
obedience

obedience in Inferiours equal to both. No man hath yet been able to shew, nor I think ever shall be, a real and substantial difference indeed, between them to make an inequality. But that stil, as *civil magistrates* have sometimes, for just polirick respects, *prohibited* some trades, and manufactures, and commodities, and enjoined other some, and done well in both: so *Churnh-Governours* may upon good considerations, (say it be but for order and uniformities sake,) prescribe the *times, places, vestments, gestures,* and other *Ceremonial circumstances* to be used in *Ecclesiastical Offices* and assemblies. As the Apostles in the first *Council* holden at Jerusalem in *Acts* 15. laid upon the Churches of the Gentiles for a time, a restraint from the eating of blood, and things sacrificed to Idols, and strangled.

Thus we see our *Christian liberty* unto the Creatures, may without prejudice admit of some restraints in the outward exercise of it: and namely from the three respects, of *Christian Sobriety*, of *Christian charity*, and of *Christian Duty* and Obedience. But now in the comparing of these together; when there seemeth to be a repugnancy between one and another of them, there may be some difficulty: and the greatest difficulty, and which hath bred most trouble, is in comparing the cases of scandal and disobedience together, when there seemeth to be a repugnancy between *charity* and *Duty*. As for example. Suppose in a thing which simply and in it self we may lawfully according to
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the Liberty we have in Christ, either use or forbear; *charity* seemeth to lay restraint upon us one way, our *weak* brother expecting we should *forbear*, and *Duty* a quite contrary way, *Authority* requiring the *use*: in such a case what are we to do? It is against *charity* to offend a *brother*; and it is against *Duty*, to disobey a *superiour*. And yet something must be done: either we must *use*, or *not use*; *forbear*, or *not forbear*. For the untieing of this knot, (which, if we will but lay things rightly together; hath not in it so much hardness as it seemeth to have;) let this be our *seventh Position*. In the use of *the creatures*, and all *indifferent things* we ought to bear a greater regard to our *publike Governours*, than to our *private Brethren*; and be more careful to *obey* them, than to *satisfie* these, if the same course will not in some mediocrity satisfie both. Alas, that our brethren who are contrary minded, would but with the spirit of sobriety admit *common Reason* to be umpire in this case: Alas, that they would but consider, what a world of *contradictions* would follow upon the contrary *opinion*, and what a world of *confusions* upon the contrary *practice*. Say what can be said, in the behalf of a *Brother*; all the same, and more may be said for a *Governour*. For a *Governour* is a *Brother* too, and something more: and *Duty* is *charity* too, and something more. If then I may not offend my *Brother*, then certainly not my *Governour*: because he is my *brother* too, being a *man*, and a *christian*, as well as the other is. And the same *charity*, that bindeth

bindeth me to satisfie *another Brother*, equally bindeth me to satisfie *this*. So that, if we go no farther, but even to the common bond of *charity*, and relation of *Brother-hood*; that maketh them *equal* at the least: and therefore no reason, why I should satisfie one that is but a *Private Brother*; rather then *the publike magistrate*, who (that publike respect set aside) is my *Brother* also. When the Scales hang thus even, shall not the accession of *magistracy* to common *Brother-hood* in him, and of *Duty* to common *charity* in me, be enough to cast it clear for *the magistrate*? Shall a *servant* in a Family, rather than offend his fellow-servant, disobey his Master? And is not a *double scandal* against *charity* and *Duty* both (for *Duty* implyeth *charity*) greater than a *single scandal* against *charity* alone? If private men will be offended at our *obedience* to publike *Governours*; we can but be sorry for it: We may not redeem their *offence* by our *disobedience*. He that *taketh* offence where none is *given*, sustaineth a double person; and must answer for it, both as *the giver* and *the taker*. If offence be taken at us, there is no woe to us for it, if it do not come by us; *Woe to the man by whom the offence commeth*: and it doth not come by us, if we do but what is our duty to do. *The Rule* is certain and equitable; The respect of *private scandal* ceaseth, where *lawful authority* determineth our *liberty*: and that *restraint* which proceedeth from *special Duty*, is of superiour reason to that which proceedeth but from *common charity*.

Quest. Whether the King and Parliament ought to Impose any more upon us, in matters of Religion than is Imposed in the Scripture : or whether every one ought not to be left to serve God, according to his best apprehensions out of the Scripture.

Answ. The Opinion is, that to do any thing at all without direction from *the Scripture* is unlawful and sinful. Which if they would understand only of the substantials of *Gods worship*, and of the exercises of *spiritual and supernatural graces*, the assertion were true and sound : but as they extend it, to *all the actions of common life* whatsoever, whether natural or civil, even so farre as to the *taking up of a straw* : so it is altogether false and indefensible. I marvel what warrant they that so teach have from *the Scripture* for that very doctrine : or where they are commanded so to *believe or teach*. One of their chiefeft refuges is *the Text* we now have in hand : but I shall anon drive them from this shelter. The other places usually alleaged speak only, either of divine and *supernatural truths* to be believed, or else of *workes of grace or worship* to be performed, as of necessity unto salvation : which is not to the point in issue. For it is freely confessed, that in things of such nature *the Holy Scripture* is, and so we are to account it, a most *absolute sufficient* direction. Upon which ground we heartily reject all *humane traditions*, devised and intended as *supplements to the doctrine of faith* contained in *the Bible*, and annexed as *codicils* to the holy Testament of Christ, for to supply the defects thereof.

thereof. The question is wholly about things in their nature *indifferent*, such as are the use of our *food, raiment*, and the like; about which *the common actions* of life are chiefly conversant: Whether in the choice and use of such things, we may not be sometimes sufficiently guided by the light of *reason* and the common rules of *discretion*: but that we must be able, (and are so bound to do, or else we *sinne*) for every thing *we do* in such matters, or deduce our *warrant* from some place or other of *Scripture*.

Before *the Scripture* were writteu it pleased GOD by *visions*, and *dreams*, and other like *revelations*, immediately to make known his good pleasure to the *Patriarches* and *Prophets*, and by them unto the people: which kind of *Revelations* served them to all the same intents and purposes, whereto the sacred *Scriptures* now do us, *viz.* to instruct them what they should *believe* and *do* for his better *service*, and the furtherance of their own *salvations*. Now as it were unreasonable for any man to think, that they either had or did expect an *immediate revelation* from God every time they *eat*, or *drank*, or *bought*, or *sold*, or did any other of *the common actions* of life, for the warranting of each of those particular actions to their consciences: no less unreasonable it is to think, that we should now expect the like *warrant* from *the Scriptures* for the doing of the like actions. Without all doubt *the Law of nature*, and *the light of reason*, was *the rule* whereby they were guided for the most part in such matters:

which the wisdom of God would never have left in them or us, as a *principal relique* of his decayed *image* in us, if he had not meant, that we should make use of it, for *the direction* of our lives and actions thereby. Certainly God never infused any *power* into any creature, whereof he intended not some *use*. Else, what shall we say of *the Indies* and other barbarous nations, to whom God never vouchsafed *the lively Oracles* of his written word? Must we think that they were left *a lawless people*, without any *Rule* at all whereby to order their *actions*? How then come they to be guilty of *transgression*? for where there is *no Law*, there can be *no transgression*. Or how cometh it about that their *consciences* should at any time or in any case either *accuse* them, or *excuse* them, if they had no *guide* nor *rule* to walk by? But if we must grant they had a *Rule*, (and there is no way, you see, but grant it we must;) then we must also of necessity grant that there is some *other Rule* for humane actions besides *the written word*: for that we presupposed these nations to have wanted. Which *Rule* what other could it be, then *the Law of the Nation* and of *right reason*, imprinted *in their hearts*! Which is as truly *the Law and Word of God*, as is that which is printed *in our Bibles*. So long as our *actions* are warranted either by the one or the other, we cannot be said to want *the warrant of Gods Word*: *Nec differet Scriptura an ratione consistat*, saith *Tertulian*; it mattereth not much from whether of both we have our *direction*, so long as we have it from either.

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You see then those men are in a great error, who make the holy Scriptures *the sole rule* of all humane actions whatsoever. For the maintenance whereof, there was never yet produced any piece of an argument, either from *reason*, or from *authority* of holy writ, or from the *testimony* either of the ancient *Fathers*, or of other classical *Divines* of later times; which may not be clearly and abundantly answered, to the satisfaction of any rational man not extremely fore-possessed with prejudice.

“ They who think to salve the matter by this *mitigation*; that at least wise our actions ought to be framed according to those *general rules* of the *Law of Nature*, which are here and there in the Scriptures dispersedly contained; (as viz. *That we should do, as we would be done to; That all things be done decently and orderly, and unto edification; That nothing be done against conscience, and the like:*) speak somewhat indeed to *the truth*, but little to *the purpose*. For they consider not,

“ *First* that these *general Rules* are but *occasionally* and *incidentally* mentioned in Scripture; rather to manifest unto us *a former*, than to lay upon us *a new obligation*. *Secondly*, that those rules had been of force for the ordering of mens actions, though *the Scripture* had never *expressed* them: and were of such force, before *those Scriptures* were written, wherein they are now *expressed*.

“ For they bind not originally *qua scripta*, but *qua justa*; because they are *righteous*, not because *they are written*. *Thirdly*, that an action con-

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“ formable

& formable to these *general Rules* might not be con-
 demned as *sinful*, although the doer thereof
 should look at those rules meerly as they are the
 dictates of *the law of nature* ; and should not be
 able to vouch his *warrant* for it from any place of
Scripture, neither should have at the time of the
 doing thereof any present thought or considera-
 tion of any such place. The contrary whereunto,
 I permit to any mans reasonable judgement, if it
 be not desperately *rash* and *uncharitable* to affirm.
 Lastly, that if mens actions done agreeably to those
 rules are said to be *of faith*, precisely for this rea-
 son, because those rules are contained in *the word* ;
 then it will follow, that before those *particular*
Scriptures were written wherein any of those
 rules are first delivered, every action done accor-
 ding to those rules had been done *without faith*,
 (there being as yet *no Scripture* for it ;) and con-
 sequently had been a sin. So that by this doctrine
 it had been a sin (before the writing of
S. Matthews Gospel) for any man to have done to
 others as he would they should do to him ; and
 it had been a sin (before the writing of *the former*
Epistle to the Corinthians) for any man to have
 done any thing *decently* and *orderly* ; supposing
 these *two Rules* to be in those *two places* first men-
 tioned : because (this supposed) there could then
 have been no warrant brought from *the Scriptures*
 for so doing.

“ Well then, we see the former Opinion will by
 no means hold, neither in *the rigour* of it, nor yet
 in

“in the mitigation. We are therefore to beware of it; and that so much the more heedfully, because of the *evil consequents* and effects that issue from it: to wit, a world of *superstitions*, uncharitable *censures*, bitter *contentions*, *contempt* of superiours, *perplexities* of conscience. First, it filleth mens heads with many *superstitious* conceits, making them to cast *impurity* upon sundry things, which yet are *lawful* to as many as use them lawfully. For the taking away of the *indifferency* of any thing that is indifferent, is in truth *Superstition*: whether either of the two wayes it be done, either by *requiring* it as *necessary*, or by *forbidding* it as *unlawful*. He that condemneth a thing as *utterly unlawful*, which yet indeed is *indifferent*, and so lawful, is *guilty* of *superstition*, as well as he that enjoyneth a thing as *absolutely necessary*, which yet indeed is but *indifferent*, and so arbitrary. They of the *Church of Rome*, and some in *our Church*, as they go upon quite contrary grounds, yet both *false*; so they run into quite contrary *errours*, and both *superstitions*. They decline too much on the *left hand*, denying to *holy Scripture* that *perfection* which of right it ought to have; of containing all appertaining to that *supernatural doctrine* of faith and holiness which God hath revealed to his Church for the attainment of everlasting salvation: whereupon they would impose upon Christian people, and that with an opinion of *necessity*, many things with the *Scriptures* require not: and that is a *Superstition*. These wry too much on the *right hand*, ascribing

ascribing to the *holy Scripture* such a kind of *perfection* as it cannot have; of being the sole directour of all *humane actions* whatsoever: whereupon they *forbid* unto Christian people, and that under the name of *sinne*, sundry things which the *holy Scripture* condemneth not: and that is a *superstition* too.

From which *Superstition* proceedeth in the second place *uncharitable censuring*: as evermore they that are the most *superstitions*, are the most *supercilious*. No such severe *censurers* of our blessed Saviours person and actions, as the *superstitious* Scribes and Pharisees were. In this Chapter the special fault, which the Apostle blameth in the *weak ones*, (who were somewhat *superstitiously* affected,) was their *rash* and *uncharitable judging* of their brethren. And common and daily experience among our selves sheweth how freely some men spend their *censures* upon so many of their brethren, as *without scruple* do any of those things, which they upon false grounds have *superstitiously* condemned as *utterly unlawful*.

And then *thirdly*, as unjust *censures* are commonly entertained with *scorn* and contumely; they that so liberally condemn their brethren of *prophaness*, are by them again as freely flouted for their *preciseness*: and so whiles both parties *please themselves* in their own wayes, they cease not mutually to *provoke* and scandalize and exasperate the one the other, pursuing their private spleens so far, till they break out into *open contentions* and oppositions,

ons. Thus it stood in the *Roman Church*, when this Epistle was written. They *judged* one another, and *despised* one another, to the great disturbance of the *Churches peace*: which gave occasion to our Apostles whole discourse in this Chapter. And how far the like *censurings* and *despisings* have embittered the *spirits*, and whetted both the *tongues* and *pens* of learned men one against another in our own Church; the *stirs* that have been long since *raised*, and are still *upheld* by the factions opposers against our *Ecclesiastical constitutions, government, and ceremonies*, will not suffer us to be ignorant. Most of which *stirs*, I verily perswade my self, had been long ere this either wholly buried in silence, or at leastwise prettily well quieted, if the *weakness* and *danger* of the error whereof we now speak, had been more timely discovered, and more *fully* and *frequently* made known to the world than it hath been.

Fourthly, let that doctrine be once admitted, and all *humane authority* will soon be *despised*. The commands of *Parents, Masters, and Princes*, which many times require both *secrecy* and *expedition*, shall be taken into slow deliberation; and the *equity* of them sifted by those that are bound to *obey*, though they know no cause why, so long as they know no cause to the contrary. *Delicata est obedientia, quæ transit in causam deliberat.vam*. It is a *nice* obedience in *St. Bernards* judgement, yea rather *troublesome* and *odious*, that is over curious

in *discussing* the commands of *superiours*; boggling at every thing that is enjoyned, requiring a *why* for every *wherefore*, and unwilling to stir until the *lawfulness* and *expediency* of the thing commanded shall be demonstrated by some manifest *reason*, or undoubted *authority* from the Scriptures.

Lastly, the admitting of this doctrine would cast such a snare upon men of weak *judgements*, but tender *consciences*, as they should never be able to unwind themselves again. Mens *daily occasions* for themselves or friends, and the *necessities of common life*, require the doing of a *thousand things* within the compass of a few dayes; for which it would puzzle the best *Textman* that liveth, readily to bethink himself of a *sentence in the Bible*, clear enough to satisfy a scrupulous conscience of the *lawfulness* and *expediency* of what he is about to do: for which, by hearkening to the rules of *reason* and *discretion*, he might receive easie and speedy resolution. In which cases if he should be bound to *suspend* his resolution, and delay to do that which his own *reason* would tell him were presently needful to be done, until he could haply call to mind some *precept* or *example* of Scripture for his warrant: what *stops* would it make in the course of his whole life? what *languishings* in the duties of his calling? how would it fill him with *doubts* and irresolutions, lead him into a maze of *uncertainties*, entangle him in a world of woful *perplexities*, and (without the great mercy of God, and better

better instruction) plunge him irrecoverably into the gulph of *despair*? Since the chief end of the publication of the *Gospel*, is to *comfort* the hearts, and to revive and refresh the spirits of *Gods* people with the glad tidings of *liberty* from the spirit of *bondage* and *fear*, and of gracious *acceptance* with their *GOD*; to anoint them with the *oyl* of *gladness* giving them *beauty* for *Ashes*, and instead of *sack-cloath* girding them with *joy*: we may well suspect that *doctrine* not to be *Evangelical*, which thus setteth the consciences of men upon *the rack*, tortureth them with continual *fears* and *perplexities*, and prepareth them thereby unto *hellish* *dispaire*.

Quest. *What are the dreadful consequences of scrupling some indifferent things?*

Ans. Although difference of judgement should not alienate our *affections* one from another: yet daily experience sheweth it doth. By reason of that *self-love*, and *envy*, and other corruptions that abound in us; it is rarely seen that those men are of *one heart*, that are of *two mindes*. St. Paul found it so with the *Romans* in his time: whilest some condemned that as *unlawful*, which others practised as *lawful*; they judged one another, and disposed one another, perpetually. And I doubt not, but any of us, that is any-whit-like acquainted with the wretched *deceitfulness* of *mans* heart, may easily conclude how hard a thing it is, (if at all possible

possible,) not to think somewhat hardly of those men, that take *the liberty* to do such " things as we
 " judge *unlawful*. As for example. If we shall
 " judge all *walking* into the fields, *discoursing oc-*
 " *casionally* on the occurrences of the times, *dres-*
 " *sing of meat* for dinner or supper, or even *moder-*
 " *ate recreations on the Lords day*, to be grievous
 " *prophanations of the Sabbath*; how can we chuse
 " but judge those men that use them to be grievous
 " *prophaners of Gods Sabbath*? And if such our
 " judgment concerning *the things* should after prove
 " to be *erroneous*: then can it not be avoided, but
 " that such our judgment also concerning *the persons*
 " must needs be *uncharitable*.

Secondly, This mis-judging of things filleth the
 would with endless niceties and *disputes*; to the
 great disturbance of *the Churches peace*, which to e-
 very good man ought to be precious. The mul-
 tiplying of *Books and writings pro and con*, and pur-
 suing of *arguments* with heat and opposition, doth
 rather *lengthen*, then *decide* controversies; and
 instead of destroying *the old*, begetteth *new ones*:
 whiles they that are *in the wrong* out of obstinacy
will not, and they that stand *for the truth* out of
 conscience *dare not*, may not *yeild*; and so still the
 war goeth on.

And as to *the publick peace* of the Church, so is
 there also *thirdly* by this means great prejudice
 done to *the peace and tranquillity* of private *members*
 con-

*conscienc*es? when by the *peremptory doctrines* of some strict and *rigid masters*, the souls of many a well-meaning man are miserably disquieted with a thousand *unnecessary scruples*. And driven sometimes into very woful *perplexities*. Surely it can be no light matter, thus to lay *heavey burdens* upon other mens shoulders, and to cast *asnares* upon their consciences, by making *the narrow way to Heaven* narrower then ever God meant it.

Fourthly, hereby *Chrittian Governours* come to be robbed of a great part of that *honour* that is due unto them from their people; both in their *Affecti- ons* and *Subjection*. For when they shall see cause to exercise over us that *power* that God hath left them in *indifferent things*, by commanding such or such things to be done; as namely, *wearing* of a Surplice, *kneeling* at the communion, and the like: if now we in our own thoughts have already *pre- judged* any of the things so commanded to be *un- lawful*; it cannot be.

Quest. *If these things be so, how comes it to pass that so many godly men should incline so much to this way?*

Ans. But you will say, if these things were so, how should it then come to pass that so many men pretending, to *Goliness*, (and *thousands* of them doubtless such as they *pretend*; for it were an *un- charitable* thing to charge them all with *hypocrisie*) should

should so often and so grievously offend this way? To omit those two more *universal causes*; Almighty *Gods permission* first, whose good pleasure it is, for sundry wise and gracious ends, to exercise *his Church* during her warfare here with *heresies* and *scandals*: And then the *williness* of *Satan*, who cunningly observeth whither way our hearts incline most, to *loosness*, or to *strictness*; and then frameth his *temptations* thereafter: So he can but put *us out of the way*; it is no great matter to him, *on whether hand* it be: he hath *his end* howsoever. Nor to insist upon sundry more *particular causes*: as nameily, a natural proneness in all men to *superstition*: in many an *affectation* of *singularity*, to go beyond the ordinary sort of people in something or other; the difficulty of shunning one without running into *the contrary extream*; the great force of *education* and *custome*; besides manifold *abuses*, *offences* and *provocations*, arising from *the carriage* of others; and the rest: I shall note but these two only, as the *two great fountains* of Error, (to which also most of the other may be reduced,) *Ignorance* and *Partiality*: from neither of which *Gods dearest servants* and children are in this life wholly exempted.

Ignorance first is a fruitful mother of *Errors*. (Ye erre not knowing the *Scriptures*, *Matth. 22*. Yet not so much, *Gross Ignorance* neither: I mean not that. For your meer *Ignorance*, what they erre, they erre for company: they judge not at all; neither according to *the appearance*, nor yet *righteous judgement*.

ment. They only *run on* with the *herd*, and *follow* as they are *led*, be it right or wrong; and never trouble themselves farther. But by *Ignorance* I mean *weakness of judgement*, which consisteth in a *disproportion* between the *affections*, and the *understanding*: when a man is very *earnest*, but withall very *shallow*: readeth much, and heareth much, and thinketh that he knoweth much, but hath not the *judgement* to sever truth from falshood, nor to *discern* between a sound *argument* and a captious *fallacy*. And so for want of ability to examine the soundness and strength of those *principles*, from whence he fetcheth his *conclusions*; he is easily carried away, as our Apostle elewhere speaketh, with *vain words*, and *empty arguments*. As St. *Augustine* said of *Donatus*, *Rationes arripuit* he catcheth hold of some reasons, (as *wranglers* will *catch* at a smal thing, rather then *yeild* from their opinions,) *quas considerantes, verisimiles esse potius quam veras invenimus*: which saith he, we found to have more *shew of probability* at the first appearance, then *substance of truth* after they were well considered of.

And I dare say, whosoever shall peruse with a judicious and impartial eye most of those *Pamphlets*, that in this daring age have been thrust into the World against the *Ceremonies* of the Church, against *Episcopal Government*; (to pass by things of lesser regard and usefulness, and more open to *acception* and *abuse*, yet so far as I can understand, unjustly con-

condemned as things *utterly unlawful*; such as are *luforious lots, dancing, Stage-plays*, and some other things of like nature;) When he shall have drained out the bitter *invectives*, unmannerly *jeers*, petulant *guirding* at those that are in authority, impertinent *disgraffions*, but above all those most bold and *perverse wrestings* of holy *Scripture*, wherewith such books are infinitely stuffels, he shall find that little poor remainder that is left behind, to contain nothing but *vain words and empty arguments*. For when these great undertakers have snatched up the bucklers, as if they would make it good against all comers, that such and such things are *utterly unlawful*; and therefore ought in all reason and conscience, to bring such *proofs* as will come up to that *conclusion*: *Quid dignum tanto?* very feldome shall you hear from them any other arguments, then such as will conclude but an *Inexpediency* at the most. As, that they are apt to *give scandal*; that they carry with them an *appearance of evil*; that they are often *occasions of sin*; that they are *not command* in the Word; and such like. Which *Objections*, even where they are *just*, are not of force, (no not taken *altogether*, much less any of them *singly*,) to prove a thing to be *utterly unlawful*. And yet are they glad many times, rather then sit out, to play very *smal Gamie*, and to make use of *Arguments* yet *weaker* then these; and such as will not reach so far as to prove a bare *inexpediency*. As, that they were invented by *Heathens*; that they have been abused in *Poperie*; and other
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such like. Which to my understanding is a very *strong presumption*, that they have taken a very *weak cause* in hand, and such as is wholly destitute of sound proof.

Quest. *Whether what the King and Parliament have determined may be altered to satisfie private men,*

Ans. While things are in agitation; *private men* may, if any thing seem to them *inexpedient*, modestly tender their *thoughts* together with the *reasons* thereof, to the consideration of those that are in *authority* : to whose care and wisdom it belongeth, in prescribing any thing concerning *indifferent things*, to proceed with all just advisedness and moderation: that so the *Subject* may be encouraged to perform that *obedience* with cheerfulness, which of necessity he must perform howsoever. It concerneth *Superiours* therefore to look well to the *expediency*, and *inexpediency* of what they enjoyn in indifferent things. Wherein if there be a fault, it must lie upon their account : *the necessity of obedience* is to us a sufficient discharge in that behalf. Only it were good we did remember, that they are to give up that account to *God onely*, and *not to us*. But after that things are once concluded and *established* by publick authority, *Acts* passed and *Constitutions* made concerning the same, and the will and pleasure of *the higher powers* sufficiently made known therein : then for *private men* to put

in their vye, and with *unseasonable diligence* to call in question the *decency* or *expediency* of the things so established, yea with *intolerable pride*, to refuse *obedience* thereunto meerly upon this pretension, that they are *undecent* or *inexpedient*; is it self in the most *indecent* and *inexpedient* thing that can be imagined.

For that the fear of *offending a private brother*, is a thing not considerable in comparison of the duty of *obedience to a publike Governour*; might be shown so apparantly by sundry arguments, if we had time to *enlarge* and *illustrate* them, as might sufficiently *convince* the judgement of any man not wilfully obstinate in that point. I shall only crave leave briefly to touch at some of them. *First* then, when *Governours* shall have appointed what seemed to them *expedient*; and *private men* shall refuse to observe the same, pretending it to be *inexpedient*: who shall judge thereof? Either they themselves that take the exceptions must be *judges*; which is both unreasonable and preposterous: or else *every man* must be his own judge, which were to overthrow all Government, and to bring in a confusion, every man to do what is *good in his own eyes*: or else *the known gavernours* must judge; and then you know what will follow, even to *submit and obey*.

Secondly, to allow men under the pretence of *inexpediency*, and because of *some offence* that may be

be taken thereat, to disobey *laws* and *constitutions* made by those that are in authority; were the next way to cut the sinews of all *authority*, and to bring both *Magistrates* and *Laws* into contempt. For what *Law* ever was made, or can be made so just and so reasonable, but some man or other either did, or might take offence thereat? And what man that is disposed to *disobey*, but may pretend *inexpediency* or other, wherewith to countenance out such his *disobedience*.

Thirdly, it is agreed by consent of all that handle the matter of *Scandal*, that we may not commit any sin whatsoever, be it never so small, for the avoiding of any *scandall*, be it never so *great*. But to *disobey* lawful authority in lawful things, is a *sin* against the *fifth Commandement*. Therefore we may not redeem a *scandall* by such our *disobedience*; nor refuse to do the thing commanded by such *authority*, whosoever should take offence thereat.

Fourthly, though *lawfulness* and *unlawfulness* be not, yet *expediency* and *inexpediency* are (as we heard) capable of the degrees of *more* and *lesse*; and then in a'l reason, of *two inexpedient things* we are to do that which is *lesse inexpedient*, for the avoiding of that which is more *inexpedient*. Say then there be an *inexpediency* in doing the thing commanded by authority, when a Brother is thereby offended; is there not a greater *inexpediency* in *not doing* it, when the *Magistrate* is thereby *dis-*
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bayed?

beyed? It is not more *expedient*, and conducing to the *common good*, that a *publick Magistrate* should be obeyed in a *just command*, then that a *private person* should be gratified in a *causelesse scruple*.

Fifthly, when by refusing *obedience* to the lawfull commands of our *Superiours*, we think to shun the *offending of one or two* weak brethren; we do in truth incur thereby a far *more grievous scandall*, by giving *offence to hundreds* of others: whose consciences by our *Disobedience* will be emboldned to that, whereto corrupt nature is but too too prone, to affront the Magistrate, and *despise the authority*.

Lastly, where we are not able to discharge both, *debts of justice* are to be payed, before *debts of charity*. Now the duty of *obedience* is *debitum justitiæ* and a matter of *right*, my superiour may challenge it at my hands as is *due*; and I do him *wrong* if I with-hold it from him. But the care of not giving offence is but *debitum charitatis*, and a matter but of *courtesie*. I am to perform it to my brother *in love*, when I see cause: but he cannot challenge it from me as *his right*: nor can justly say I do him *wrong*, if I neglect it. It is therefore no more lawfull for me, to *disobey* the lawful command of a *Superiour*, to prevent thereby the *offence* of one or a few *brethren*: then it is lawfull for me to do one man *wrong*, to do another man a courtesie withall;
or

or then it is lawful for me to rob the *Exchequer*, to relieve an *Hospital*.

I see not yet how any of these *six reasons* can be fairly avoided : and yet, (which would be considered,) if but *any one* of them hold good, it is enough to *carry the cause* : And therefore I hope there need be no more said in this matter. To conclude then, for the point of *practise*, (which is the main thing I aimed at in the choice of *this Text*, and my whole meditations thereon,) we may take our direction in these *three Rules* ; easie to be understood and remembred, and not hard to be observed in our practise, if we will but bring our good wils thereunto. *First*, If God command, we must *submit* without any more adoe ; and not trouble our selves about *the experiency*, or so much as about *the unlawfulness* for both *Abraham* never disputed whether it were *expedient* for him, not yet whether it were *lawful* for him to sacrifice his son or no, when once it appeared to him. that God would have it so.

Secondly, If our *Superiours*, endued with lawful authority thereunto, cammand us any thing; we may & (where we have *just cause of doubt*) we ought to enquire into *the unlawfulness* thereof. Yet not withstanding such *anxious curiosity*, as if we desired to find out some *loop-hole* whereby to evade ; but with such *modest ingenuity*, as may witness God and the world the unfeigned sincerity of our desires

both to *fear God*, and to *honour those* that he hath set over us. And if having used ordinary *moral diligence bona fide* to informe our selves the best we can, there appear no *unlawfulness* in it; we are then also to *submit* and *obey* without any more adoe never troubling our selves farther to enquire whether it be *expedient* yea or no. Let them that *command* us look to that: for it is they must *answer for it*, and not we.

But then *thirdly*, where *authority* hath left us free; no *command*, either of God, or of those that are set over us under God, having *prescribed* any thing to us in that behalf: there it is at our own *liberty* and *choyce*, to do as we shall think good. Yet are we not left so loose, as that we may do what we list, so as the thing be but *lawful*; (for that were *licentiousness*, and not *liberty*;) but we must ever do that. which according to the exigence of *present circumstances*, (so far as all *the wisdom* and *charity* we have will serve us to judge,) shall seem to us *most expedient*, and profitable to mutual *Edification*. This is the way: God give us all grace to walk in it. So shall we bring *glory* to him, and to our selves *comfort*: so shall we further his *work* onward, and our own *account* at the last.

Quest. *Whether they that have taken the Covenant may Renounce it?*

Ans. *Thirdly*, beware of *engaging thy left to sin*. It is a fearful thing, when sin hath got a *tye* upon a man. Then is one properly *in the snare of the Devil*; when he hath him as it were in a string,
and

and may lead him captive to what measure of *presumption* he will. And sundry wayes may a man thus entangle himself: by a *Verbal*, by a *Real*, by a *Sinful Engagement*. He shall do best to keep himself out of all these *snare*s. But if once he be in; there is no way out again but one: even this, *To loose his pledge*, to break in sunder *the bonds* wherein he is tied, as *Sampson* did the *green withes*, and to cast away those *corde*s from him.

A man hath bound himself rashly by some *promise*, *vow*, or *covenant*, to do something he *may not do*, or not to do something he *ought to do*. He is now *engaged* in a sin: the Devil hath got *this tie* upon him. And though *his conscience* tell him he cannot proceed without *sin*; yet because of his *Vow*, or his *Oath*, he is *wilful*, and must on. It was *Herods Case*; for taking of the *Baptists* head. It was *against his conscience* to do it: for he knew he had *not deserved* it: Ey, and it was *against his minde* too to do it; for the Text saith, he was *exceeding sorry* that his neice should put him upon it. But yet, saith the story withall, *for his Oath sake*, and because *the great ones* about him should not say but the King would be *as big as the word*, he resolved it should be done, and *gave commandment* accordingly to have it done. This I call a *Verbal Engagement*.

Quest. *Whether we English-men may think our selves bound by the Solemne League and Covenant?*

Ans^r. Not without betraying the Liberty, which by our Protestation we are bound, and in the third
Article

Article of this Covenant must swear, *with our lives and fortunes to preserve.* To which Liberty the imposition of a new Oath, other then is established by Act of Parliament, it expressed in *the Petition of Right*, and by the Lords and Commons in their *Declarations* acknowledged to be contrary.

3. Without acknowledging in the imposers, a greater power then, for ought that appeareth to us, hath been in former times challenged; Or can consist with our former Protestation (if we rightly understand it) in sundry the most material branches thereof.

Neither, secondly, are we satisfied; although the Covenant should not be imposed on us at all, but only recommended to us, and then left to our choice.

1. How we should in wisdom and Duty (being Subjects) of our own accord and free will enter into a Covenant, wherein He, whose Subjects we are, is in any wise concerned, without His consent, either expressed or reasonably presumed. It being in his power (as we conceive) by the equity of the Law, *Numb. 30.* to annul and make voyd the same at his pleasure.

2. How we can (now that His Majesty hath by His publique *Interdict* sufficiently made known His pleasure in that behalfe) enter into a Covenant, the taking whereof he hath expressly forbidden; without forfeiting that Obedience, which (as we are perswaded) by our natural Allegiance and former Oathes we owe unto all such His Majesties Commands, as are not in our apprehensions repugnant to the wil of God, or the positive laws of this Kingdom.

Quest.

Quest. *What shall a man do that scruples in Conscience what Authority enjoyns as unlawful.*

But then *thirdly*, if the liberty of the agent be determined by the command of some *superiour power* to whom he oweth obedience; so as he is not now *sui juris ad hoc*, to do or not to do at his own choice, but to do what he is *commanded*: this one circumstance quite altereth the whole case, & now he is bound in conscience to do *the thing commanded*; his *doubtfulnesse* of mind whether that thing be *lawful* or no, notwithstanding. To do that whereof he *doubteth*, where he hath *free liberty* to leave it undone, bringeth upon him (as we have already shewn) the guilt of *wilful transgression*: but not so where he is not left to his own liberty. And where *lawful authority* prescribeth in *alterutram partem*, there the liberty *ad utramque partem contradictionis* is taken away, from so many as are under that authority. If they that are over them have determined it *one way*; it is not thenceforth any more at their choice, whether they will take *that way*, or *the contrary*: but they must go the way that is appointed them without gain saying or grudging. And if in the deed done at the *command* of one that is endued with lawful authority there be a *sin*, it must go on his score that requireth it wrongfully, not on his that doth but his duty in obeying. A Prince commandeth his *Subjects* to serve in his *Warres*: it may be the quarrel is *unjust*, it may be there may appear to the understanding of the Subject great likelihoods of such *injustice*; yet may the Subject for all that *fight* in that quarrel; yea he is bound in conscience so to do: nay he is deep in disloyalty and treason if he *refuse* the service, whatsoever pretensions he may make of *conscience* for such refusal. Neither need that fear trouble him lest he should bring upon himself the guilt of *innocent*

blood; for the blood that is unrighteously shed in that quarrel, he must answer for that *set him on work*, not he that *spilt it*. And truly it is a great wonder to me, that any man endued with understanding, and that is able in any measure to weigh the force of those *precepts* and *reasons* which bind *inferiours* to yield obedience to their *superiours*, should be otherwise minded in cases of like nature. Whatsoever is commanded us by those whom God hath set over us, either in Church, Common wealth, or Family; (*Quod tamen non sit certum displicere Deo*, saith S. Bern.) which is not evidently contrary to the *Law* and will of God, ought to be of us received and *obeyed* no otherwise, then as if God himself had commanded it, because God himself hath commanded us to *obey the higher powers*, and to *submit our selves to their ordinances*. Say it be not well don of them to command it! *Sed enim quid hoc refert tuâ?* saith he, What is that to thee? Let them look to that whom it concerneth: *Tolle quod tuum est, & vade*. Do thou what is thine own part faithfully, and never trouble thy self further. *Ipsam quem pro Deo habemus, tanquam Deum in his quæ aperte non sunt contra Deum audire debemus*; Bernard itill. Gods Vicegerents must be heard and *obeyed* in all things that are not manifestly contrary to the *revealed will* of God.

But the thing required is *against my conscience*, may som say, and I may not go against my *conscience*, for any mans pleasure. Judg I pray you what perverseness is this, when the blessed Apostle commandeth thee to *obey for conscience sake*, that thou shouldest *disobey*, & that for *conscience sake* too: He chargeth thee upon thy conscience to be *subject*; and thou pretendest thy conscience to *free thee* from subjection. This by the way, now to the point. Thou sayest it is *against thy conscience*: I say again, that (in the case where.

whereof we now speak, the case of *doubtfullness*) it is not against thy conscience. For doubting properly is *motus indifferens in utramque partem contradictionis*; when the mind is held in suspence between *two ways*, uncertain whether of both to take so. When the scales hang even (as I said before) and *in aequilibro*, without any notable propension or inclination to the one side more than to the other. And surely where things hang thus *even*, if *the weight of authority* will not cast the scale either way: we may well suppose, that either *the authority* is made very *light*, or else there is a great fault in *the beame*. Know (brethren) the *gain saying conscience* is one thing, and the *doubting conscience* another. That which is done *repugnante conscientia*, the conscience of the doer flatly *gain saying* it, that is indeed *against a mans conscience*, the conscience having already passed a *definitive sentence* the one way:) and no respect or circumstance whatsoever can free it from sin. But that which is done *dubitante conscientia*, the conscience of the doer onely doubting of it and no more; that is in truth no more *against a mans conscience* than *with it*, (the conscience as yet not having passed a *definitive sentence* either way) and such an action may either be a *sinne*, or *no sinne*; according to those qualifications which it may receive from other respects and circumstances. If the conscience have already passed a *judgement* upon a thing, and *condemned* it as simply unlawfull; in that case it is true that a man ought not by any means to do that thing, no not at *the command* of any Magistrate, no not although his *conscience* have pronounced a *wrong sentence*, and erred in that judgement; for then he should do it. *repugnante conscientia*, he should go directly against his own *conscience*, which he ought not to do whatsoever come of it. In such a case certainly he

may not obey *the Magistrate*: yet let him know thus much withall, that he sinneth too in *disobeying* the Magistrate; from which sinne the following of *the judgement* of his own *conscience* cannot acquit him. And this is that fearfull *perplexity* whereof I spake, whereinto many a man casteth himself by his own *error & obstinacy*, that he can neither go *with* his conscience, nor *against* it but he shall sinne. And who can help it, if a man will needs cherish an *error*, and persist in it? But now if *the conscience* be onely *doubtfull* whether a thing be *lawfull* or no, but have not as yet passed a *peremptory judgement* against it, (yea although it rather incline to think it *unlawfull*;) in that case if the Magistrate shall *command* it to be done, the subject with a good conscience *may* do it, nay he cannot with a good conscience *refuse* to do it, though it be *dubitante conscientia*.

But you will yet say, that in doubtfull cases *the safer part* is to be chosen. So say I too; and am content *that rule* should decide *this question*: onely let it be rightly applyed. Thou thinkest it *safer*, where thou doubtest of the unlawfulnessse, *so forbear* then *to do*: as for example, if thou doubtest whether it be lawfull *to kneel* at the Communion, it is safest in thy opinion therefore for thee *not to kneel*. So should I think too, if thou wert left meerly to thine own *liberty*. But thou dost not consider how thou art caught in thine own net, and how the edge of thine own weapon may be turned upon thee point-blank not to be avoided, thus. If authority command thee *to kneel*, which whether it be lawful for thee to do, or not, thou doubtest; it cannot chuse but thou must needs *doubt* also, whether thou maiest lawfully *disobey*, or not. Now then here apply thine own Rule, *In dubiis pars tutior*, and see what will come of it. Judge, since thou canst not but
doubt

doubt in both cases, whether it be not *the safer* of the two, to obey doubtingly, than to *disobey* doubtingly. *Tene certum, demitte incertum*, is S. Gregory his rule: where there is a *certainly*, and an *uncertainty*, let the uncertainty go, and hold to that which is certain. Now *the general* is *certain*, that thou art to obey *the Magistrate* in all things not contrary to the will of God; but *the particular* is *uncertain*, whether the thing now commanded thee by *the Magistrate* be contrary to the will of God: (I say uncertain to thee, because thou *doubtest* of it) Deal *safely* therefore, and hold thee to that which is *certain*, and obey.

But thou wilt yet alledge, that *the Apostle* here condemneth the doing of any thing, not only with a *gain-saying*, but even with a *doubting* conscience: because *doubting* also is contrary to *faith*; and he that *doubteth* is even for that *condemned*, if he eat. Oh beware of mis-applying *Scripture*! it is a thing easily done, but not so easily answered. I know not any one gap that hath let in more and more dangerous errors into the Church, than this: that men take *the word*, of the sacred Text fitted to *particular occasions*, & to the condition of the *times* wherein they were written; & then *apply* them to themselves & others as they find them, without due respect had to the *differences* that may be between those *times* & *cases*, & the present. Sundry things spoken of in *Scripture* agreeably to that *infancy* of the Church, would sort very ill with the Church in her fulness of *strength* and *stature*: & sundry directions very expedient in times of *persecution*, and when believers lived mingled with *Infidels*, would be very unreasonably urged where the Church is in a *peaceable* and *flourishing* estate, enjoying the *favour* and living under the *protection* of gracious and religious Rulers. Thus *the Constitutions* that the Apostles made concerning *Deacons* & *widowes* in those

those primitive times, are with much importunity, but very importunately withal, urged by the *Disciplinarians*: And sundry other like things I might instance of this kind, worthy the discovery, but that I fear to grow tedious. Briefly then, the Apostles whole discourse in this Chapter, and so wheresoever else he toucheth upon the point of *Scandals*, is to be understood only in that case where men are left to *their own liberty* in the use of indifferent things: the *Romans*, *Corinthians*, & others to whom S. Paul wrote about these matters, being not *limited* any way in the exercise of their *liberty* therein by any overruling authority. But where the Magistrates have interposed, & thought good upon mature advice to *impose Laws* upon those that are under them, whereby their *liberty* is (not *infringed*, as some unjustly complain, in the *inward judgement*, but only) *limited* in the *outward exercise* of it: there the Apostolical directions will not hold in the same *absolute manner*, as they were delivered to those whom they then concerned; but only in the *equity* of them, so far forth as the cases are alike, & with such meet *qualifications* and *mitigations*, as the difference of the cases otherwise doth require. So that a man ought not out of private fancy, or meerly because he would not be observed for not doing as others do, or for any the like weak respects, to do that thing of the *lawfulness* whereof he is not *competently persuaded*, where it is *free* for him to do otherwise: which was the case of these *weak ones* among the *Romans*, for whose sakes principally the Apostle gave these directions. But the *authority* of the Magistrates intervening to alters the case, that such a forbearance as to them was *necessary*, is to as many of us as we are commanded to do this or that, altogether *unlawful*, in regard they were *free* and we are *bound*: for the reasons already shewn, which I now re-

rehearse not. But you will yet say, (for in point of *obedience* men are very loth to *yield* so long as they can find any thing to *plead*,) those that lay *these burdens* upon us, at least wile should do well to *satisfie our doubts* and to *inform* our consciences concerning *the lawfulness* of what they enjoin: that so we might render them *obedience* with better *cheerfulness*. How willing are we sinful men to leave the blame of our miscarriages any where rather than upon our selves! But how is it not incongruous the while, that those men should *prescribe rules* to their governours, who can scarcely brook their governours should *prescribe laws* to them? It were good we should first *learn* how to *obey*, ere we take upon us to *teach* our betters how to *govern*. However, what *governours* are bound to do, or what is fit for them to do, in the point of *information*; that is not now the question. If they fail in any part of *their bounden duty*, they shall be sure to reckon for it one day: but *their failing* cannot in the mean time excuse *thy disobedience*. Although I think it would prove a hard task, for whosoever should undertake it, to shew that *Superiours* are alwaies bound to *inform* the consciences of their inferiours concerning the *lawfulness* of every thing they shall command. If sometimes they do it, where they see it *expedient* or *needful*; sometimes again (and that perhaps oftner,) it may be thought more *expedient* for them, and more *conducibile* for the publick peace and safety, only to make known to the people what their pleasures are, reserving to themselves *the reasons* thereof. I am sure, in the point of *Ecclesiastical Ceremonies* and *Constitutions*, (in which case the aforelaid allegations are usually most stood upon,) this hath been abundantly done in our Church, not onely in the learned writings of sundry *private men* but by the *publick declaration* also of authority, as is to be seen at large.

in the *preface* commonly printed before the *book of Common prayer* concerning that argument: enough to satisfy those that are peaceable, and not disposed to stretch their wits to cavil at things established. And thus much of the *second Question*, touching a *doubting conscience*: whereon I have insisted the longer, because it is a point both so proper to the *Text*, & whereat so many have stumbled.

There remaineth but one *other Question*, and that of far smaller difficulty: What is to be done, when the conscience is *scrupulous*? I call that a *scruple*, when a man is reasonably well perswaded of the *lawfullnesse* of a thing, yet hath withal some *jealousies* and *fears*, lest perhaps it should prove unlawful. Such scruples are most incident to men of *melaucholy* dispositions, or of *timorous* spirits; especially if they be *tender-conscienced* withall: and they are much encreased by the *false suggestions* of Satan; by reading the *books*, or hearing the *Sermons*, or frequenting the *company* of men more strict, precise, and austere in sundry points, than they need or ought to be; and by sundry other means which I now mention not. Of which *scruples* it behooveth every man, *first*, to be wary that he doth not at all *admit* them, if he can chuse: or, if he cannot wholly avoid them, that *secondly*, he endeavour so far as may be to *eject* them speedily out of his thoughts, as *Satans snares*, and things that may breed him worser inconveniencies: or, if he cannot be so rid of them, that then *thirdly*, he resolve to go on according to the more *profitable perswasion* of his mind, and *despise* those scruples. And this he may do with a good conscience, not only in things *commanded* him by *lawful authority*, but even in things *indifferent* and *arbitrary*, and wherein he is left to his own *liberty*.

FINIS.

Much



